Daily Report

Latin America

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FBIS-LAT-90-049 *13 March 1990*

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Suriname Supports Caricom in Banana Dispute

FL070319C~90 Bridgetown CANA in English
1749 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] Castries, St. Lucia, March 7, CANA—Suriname is standing firmly behind the banana producing states of the eastern Caribbean in their dispute with the Dominican Republic, according to Suriname's ambassador to the Caribbean community [Caricom], John Kolader. Kolader said the Dominican Republic did not handle negotiations with the community fairly.

Caribbean community states complain that the Dominican Republic went back on a promise not to compete with them in fruit exports to Europe in return for their support in getting access to the Lome Trade and Aid Convention linking the European Community and developing countries.

The Suriname envoy was in St. Lucia to attend meetings focusing on Caribbean banana exports, including one last week that looked at the decision of the Dominican Republic to ship bananas to Europe in competition with fruit from the English-speaking Caribbean. Ambassador Koladar said it was clear that the future of the eastern Caribbean depended on the successful conclusion of the discussions here.

"We are brothers and sisters in the region and we must think together as to how we will deal with this problem," the ambassador said.

Suriname is a member of the Africa, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) group that trades with Europe under the Lome Convention. It exports bananas to the United Kingdom.

"We regard the Dominican Republic as a Caribbean country, which is why along with Haiti we supported its entry into the ACP. But we are convinced that the Dominican Republic did not handle its negotiations with Caricom in a fair manner as far as international relations go," he said.

"It is clear that they were holding back information, and we are very disappointed, as it is important that the banana industry in the eastern Caribbean is protected, being the lifeblood of these islands," ambassador Kolader said.

The ambassador who last visited St. Lucia in 1988, toured the Windward Islands Packaging Company (Winera). Company officials said that they discussed the possibility of resuming the export of banana boxes to Suriname, which was at one time Winera's major export market. The two parties endorsed a proposal for the mounting of a trade exposition to Suriname in concert with other local manufacturers.

"Suriname was once our most profitable external market, and we will do whatever we can to revive that relationship," said the managing director of Winera, Dennis Labassierre.

Cuba

U.S. Extends Anti-Cuban Policy to UNCTAD

FL1303005490 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 0007 GMT 13 Mar 90

[From the "Exclusivo" program]

[Text] The United States is attempting to extend its obstinate anti-Cuban policy to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, UNCTAD, and is trying to block the proposal to hold the eighth UNCTAD meeting in Havana City.

It was learned from diplomatic sources and from the Group of 77, that the U.S. representatives are trying to prevent Western states in the UNCTAD from supporting Cuba's offer to host the meeting. In meetings held today in Geneva, Switzerland, the Latin American members of the Group of 77, East European countries, and China reiterated their support for Cuba's candidacy and called on Western nations also to endorse the offer.

The United States has remained isolated within its own group in its anti-Cuban campaign. Spain, Canada, and other nations support having Cuba host the meeting. It was also learned that there are U.S. maneuvers to exercise a type of veto, similar to the one it applies at the UN Security Council, by stating that its group cannot introduce Cuba's candidacy without U.S. support.

GRANMA Comments on Nicaraguan 'Revolution'

FL1003155590 Havana Tele Rebelde Network in Spanish 1400 GMT 10 Mar 90

[Text] Under the title, "The Vote Was Lost, But Not the Revolution," the GRANMA newspaper today publishes an extensive article by Juan Marrero which responds to several questions on the future of Nicaragua and analyzes the historic process in Sandino's fatherland. The journalist refers to certain aspects of the Nicaraguan constitution which clarify some questions pertaining to what will happen as of 25 April when the opposition alliance, which won the 25 February elections with the support of the U.S. imperialists, takes office.

The principal conclusion of the article published today in the third edition of GRANMA is that the revolution in Nicaragua continues to be in force.

Education Minister Comments on Future, Nicaragua

PY0903221690 Montevideo LA HORA POPULAR in Spanish 3 Mar 90 p 2

[Interview with Education Minister Jose Ramon Fernandez by unidentified LA HORA POPULAR reporter; place and date not given]

[Text] [LA HORA POPULAR] Last year was not a good year for Latin America because it ended with the U.S. invasion of Panama. This year has been even worse for the left because of the electoral defeat of the Sandinists. What is the Cuban Government's reaction to this unprecedented situation in which a guerrilla who took power has been defeated at the ballot box? Are there internal reasons, or was this situation caused by external factors?

[Fernandez] The reasons essentially have nothing to do with Nicaraguans. First, there is a dirty war being waged by imperialism, which is backing the contras. Independent of the political accords reached by the presidents of the region, the United States has refused to deactivate the counterrevolution. Second, the economic and commercial blockade, which has seriously deteriorated the weak Nicaraguan economy, forced the Sandinist government to adopt radical measures which affected the people.

[LA HORA POPULAR] To some extent, the same thing has happened in Cuba...

[Fernandez] Right, but Cuba had other opportunities; because we are surrounded by ocean, imperialism could not gather an army on the Cuban border. Imperialism sent a mercenary army that was defeated in a few hours. A direct invasion was impossible because of the international situation. The economic blockade, however, has lasted more than 30 years.

But in Nicaragua's case there was a third cause which also affected the Sandinists. It was the patriotic military service. To defend their revolution, the Sandinists had to summon the youths, many of whom died in the fight against the contras. The UNO [United Nicaraguan Opposition] promised to end military service, and every soldier has a mother, a father, an aunt, a brother... There was also the psychological fear of an attack as in Panama, the fear of an open war declared by the United States.

[LA HORA POPULAR] With the defeat of the FSLN [Sandinist National Liberation Front], with which Cuba maintains close contact, will Cuban technical advisers be withdrawn from Nicaragua?

[Fernandez] Cuba has extended its solidarity to the FSLN because the FSLN is the best alternative for the development of the Nicaraguan people. We will support the FSLN regardless of whether it is in power or in the opposition. A battle was lost, but in the long run Nicaragua will win.

We will not remain there against the will of Nicaraguans because we wish for the best not only for the FSLN but for all the people who will suffer the effects of the unwise measures the UNO government will adopt.

[LA HORA POPULAR] In your capacity as a military man and revolutionary, do you believe that the Sandinist People's Army should turn over or bury its arms?

[Fernandez] That depends on the accord between UNO and the Sandinist Front. I believe that revolutions do not surrender; they fight. The electoral results must be respected. UNO, however, cannot ignore who delivered

Nicaragua from Somozism. I hope they will have the talent, patience, and evenhandedness to find the best solution for the Nicaraguan people. There will be no progress, however, if the contras are not demobilized.

[LA HORA POPULAR] In view of this situation, is revolution still feasible in Third World countries?

[Fernandez] It is not only feasible but inevitable, necessary, and essential. There is no other solution because capitalism is exhausted, even with its magnificent bourgeoisie. Revolution and socialism are the only alternatives for mankind.

[LA HORA POPULAR] Since the elections in Nicaragua, it has been said that Cuba should recognize political pluralism and call for elections. Is the Communist Party of Cuba analyzing such a possibility or is such a change totally outside the Cuban situation?

[Fernandez] That is far from our plans. Jose Marti, mankind's great leader, founded a party—the Cuban Revolutionary Party—to free Cuba. He did not say that there should be many parties. We respect what other countries are doing, but we do not believe in the solutions that some nations are trying. The majority of our people undoubtedly support the revolution. Hundreds of thousands of Cubans who support internationalism have fought in other countries with the young spirit of Cuban mountain fighters, a spirit which still prevails and nurtures our political system. If imperialism dares to attack us, those fighters will take up arms to defend our accomplishments.

[LA HORA POPULAR] To what extent will the political changes in the USSR and Eastern Europe affect the Cuban economy?

[Fernandez] The Cuban economy remains firm. We adopted several measures to reduce the effects, and we hope to maintain commercial ties. We also hope that socialist nations, regardless of the changes they are experiencing, will maintain a reasonable level of trade with Cuba. We are holding talks with all of them and, in general, they have said they agree. It is our decision, however, that Cuba will resist even if such commercial ties disappear because we are firmly determined to win.

[LA HORA POPULAR] Is Leninism still valid?

[Fernandez] Absolutely. The role of the party remains totally valid and its authority will by no means be diminished.

[LA HORA POPULAR] Is the dictatorship of the proletariat no longer valid as a transition toward socialism?

[Fernandez] The phrase, not the idea, may be a little worn-out. In all countries there is a dominating class that uses all its power to impose its will on the others. In this case, the so-called dictatorship of the proletariat is the most just solution because it represents the have-nots who compose the majority of society. This facilitates the disappearance of privilege and establishes fair conditions for everyone.

Construction Workers Will Stay in Nicaragua

FL0903133690 Havana Tele Rebelde Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] The 361 members of the Jose Marti internationalist contingent who are building houses in Bluefields, Nicaragua, have supported the remarks made by Commander in Chief Fidel Castro during the closing session of the fifth congress of the Federation of Cuban Women. In a message sent to the first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee and president of the Councils of State and Ministers, the minibrigade members stated that after listening to Castro's guiding words they held a meeting and agreed to continue working in Bluefields and carry out any other task he assigns them.

Alarcon on Luanda Meeting, UN Security Council

FL0903181990 Havana Tele Rebelde Network in Spanish 1336 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Interview with Ricardo Alarcon, ambassador to the UN, by Lolin Estevez; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Estevez] The name Ricardo Alarcon de Quesada is linked to Cuba's foreign policy to which he has dedicated many years of his career. Alarcon headed the Cuban delegation to the seventh regular meeting of the joint commission on the agreements on South-West Africa signed in New York. Alarcon, we would like you to tell us, in your opinion, what is the main result of this meeting that just concluded in Luanda?

[Alarcon] I would say that the main result was the decision reached by the joint commission regarding the problems created by the actions carried out by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] bands against our troops in Angola. The work of the commission focused on this subject most of the time. I would say that we devoted over 90 percent of the time to this. The final communique cannot be clearer. It was stated there as a positive note that the Angolan and Cuban Governments have decided to resume the withdrawal of Cuban troops and that they regret the events of 14 August 1989 and 21 January 1990 that caused the suspension of the withdrawal, that is, the UNITA attacks against these troops. It says—and I believe it is the most important thing said at the meeting—that the South African and U.S. Governments express their willingness to exert their best efforts to prevent a repetition of similar actions in the future. It was noted that these UNITA actions could threaten the peace process.

This is the first time the U.S. and South African authorities have had to recognize in a formal and public manner, that UNITA actions, the terrorist actions of this counterrevolutionary group, threaten the peace process. They also committed themselves to work—they can do

this because they both have much influence over UNITA since they are its main and sole supporters—so this organization does not repeat terrorist actions of this type in the future.

I believe that in addition to this, the most important thing that took place during the meeting was the participation of the Namibian Government for the first time in the joint commission's work. It is a government that has not yet been installed, but it will be installed on 21 March. It has already participated actively in our meeting. This is perhaps the best evidence, the best sign of the progress achieved in the southwestern African region as a result of the negotiations in which Cuba has actively participated.

[Estevez] Ricardo Alarcon is currently Cuba's ambassador to the United Nations. He chaired the UN Security Council in February. We would like to ask you to tell us the main demands made during this month of work.

[Alarcon] We had a truly unique experience in February. It was not only the month during which I personally represented our country at the United Nations by joining the Security Council, but also when I joined it as chairperson. It was a month during which the Council devoted much time to negotiating some pretty delicate subjects linked to two negotiations in which the UN secretary general is playing a crucial role. One of them is the situation in Cyprus and the other, the one regarding negotiations between Iran and Iraq.

As we all recall, during that month we had to submit before the Council itself a protest against the United States because of the attack on the Hermann ship. To date, the Council has not acted on it other than as a forum to hear our charges, our detailed explanation of the incident, and attempted American responses. The subject continues to be current and is still open. It is still on the Council's agenda. Thus, if new incidents of this type are created in the Gulf of Mexico or the Caribbean, it would be easy to resume this discussion at the Security Council

At the same time, this subject shows us the limitations existing in the United Nations. This has to do with the second part of the question. As long as the situation existing today continues in which some superpowers use their special privileges to prevent the Council from acting in a manner in line with the interests of the majority of the members of the organization and, also, in line with the UN Charter and international law, evidently, the United Nations has serious limitations.

I would say that the most important thing at this time is to disassociate the action of independent countries; Third World countries; Latin American, African, and Asian countries; so the United Nations becomes a forum that facilitates the universalization of peace, the aspirations of humankind for development, for [words indistinct] changes that are so widely discussed, which are taking place in [words indistinct] and so far cover only part of the planet—have so far referred only to relations between developed countries of the East and West—expand to the entire planet so Third World countries, which after all include the majority of humankind, also benefit from peace and that peace does not go to a few but reaches everyone. That is, peace with development and peace with respect for independence and the rights of all peoples.

[Estevez] We thank Ricardo Alarcon for this interview granted to the Cuban television news services.

Namibian Official Interviewed in Luanda

FL1003025890 Havana Television Service in Spanish 0100 GMT 10 Mar 90

[Text] The presence of a delegation from the future Namibian Government at the seventh ordinary session of the joint commission on the agreements signed in New York about southwestern Africa drew the attention of many of us who came here to Luanda. One of the delegation's members, Peter Tsheehama, who will hold the post of minister of state for security in an independent Namibia, agreed to speak to the Cuban press.

Tsheehama referred to the deep gratitude and appreciation Namibians feel towards Commander Fidel Castro, the Communist Party of Cuba, and the revolutionary Cuban Government and people for the political and diplomatic support they gave over many years to the South-West Africa People's Organization, SWAPO. He also pointed out Cuba's role in the implementation of the process that has led to the virtual independence of Namibia, which he said was possible thanks to the massive Cuban effort to promote implementation of UN Resolution 435.

About the significance of the declaration of independence on March 21, Tsheehama expressed the natural feeling of joy of his entire people, who will see more than a century of colonialism come to an end. He said that this joy extends to those who worked side by side with the Namibians' desire for freedom, and all those throughout the world who love independence and peace.

The future minister of state for security said that an independent Namibia will join the Nonaligned Movement, continuing the policy followed by SWAPO during the years of fighting for freedom. He also said it plans to become part of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

'No Softness' for Arrested 'Counterrevolutionaries'

FL1203191390 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1800 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Station commentary]

[Text] Seven counterrevolutionary individuals were arrested in this country on 10 March. They are the leaders of a so-called party for human rights. All of them will now have to answer before the courts for violating Articles 208 and 209 of the current Criminal Code, which sanction offenses concerning illegal associations,

meetings, and demonstrations. Along with these arrests, there was also another of an individual connected with the above, for violating the conditions of house arrest that had been applied to him previously.

The most recent activity of these individuals—most of whom have been imprisoned before for common crimes and have frequent contacts with the U.S. Interests Section in Havana—was to send warm congratulations to the U.S. delegation that presented the draft resolution against Cuba at the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva. But not only this. To show even more their flagrant and unpatriotic servility, these individuals also extended their congratulations to the countries that cosponsored and voted in favor of the inflammatory document.

What do these acts show? First, they show that here there are still idiots who believe that in this country they can organize fifth columns at the service of imperialism and repeat the story of what has happened in other countries. But these acts demonstrate above all that the Cuban revolution is not willing to allow any scope for counterrevolutionaries, whose real aim is to open a path for U.S. aggression against our people.

If Cuba has acted with the most rigorous energy on previous occasions, how much more reason will it have to do so at this decisive time when everything is at stake? Let no one be deceived; in this country, there will be no half measures, concessions, or softness. Against the ambitions of the imperialists and their servants, we will be inflexible.

University Condemns Human Rights Resolution

FL1203231290 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 2032 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Report by Lazaro Chian Macate]

[Text] Havana University workers, professors, and students have condemned the new UN Human Rights Commission resolution and the Yankee maneuvers against Cuba. They also expressed their strongest repudiation of the anti-Cuban maneuvers of the U.S. Government and of the decisions it elicited from the UN Human Rights Commission through blackmail and extortion.

The university workers, professors, and students expressed their absolute support under any circumstances of the party and of the leaders of the state and the Cuban Government. They also expressed their willingness to hold high the banners of socialism. They said they will not allow our fatherland—which is free and sovereign—to be subjected to discriminatory and degrading treatment of its sovereignty and free determination.

Castro Speaks to Students Doing Volunteer Work

FL1203152890 Havana Tele Rebelde Network in Spanish 1251 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Commander in Chief Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and president of the Councils of State and Ministers, provided the young university students in Havana who were participating in Operation Jose Antonio with an enjoyable surprise. This was a day of voluntary work organized by the FEU [Federation of University Students] a few hours before the 13 March events. Let us listen.

[Begin Castro recording] [crowd chanting indistinct]. I had imagined that I would come here, and I would be in a little corner somewhere, viewing the spectacle that the comrades were going to offer of....[individual interrupts, shouting: You would speak from every corner because you will always be in our hearts! crowd applauds] It seems like a dream to us to already be seeing this part of the stadium where I believe they are going to do the human blackboard. When we were here only a short time ago, there was nothing like this.

How can we define your work? I think with an anecdote. A few days ago I came by here, and now I see the largest stadium that exists and in which your hours of work have accumulated. I do not know if it has really grown. [applause] I do not know if it has really grown, [repeats] or if it is because it seems to me today to be the largest stadium in the world. [applause] It seems to me, I do not know, that I should be inaugurating the stadium. [laughter, applause] Because those of us who dream about things, dream that this stadium is already finished. A while ago there was nothing, and look what we have now.

And then we can talk about dreams; let us talk about dreams, because here you have mentioned the names of the comrades who fought and gave their lives for the cause of the revolution. And you mentioned the name of Jose Antonio Echevarria, for whom it has now been 33 years, the 33d anniversary, right? You are the ones who know about that. [laughter] I was thinking precisely about that. I was saying: They must have dreamed about things like this, many things like this; concerning their nation, their country, their university, which have done many things for the students. They must have dreamed about things like this, many things like this.

They lived this, because they dreamed of it. But with one difference. I think it seems to us that we are also living along with them, and we dream like them, and the difference is that the reality—what you have said, what you have shown, what you have done—goes beyond dreams. [applause] That is why, comrades, students, they were willing to defend those dreams and those realities.

Not to run on more, now that the wind is blowing more and the dust is blowing more, not to run on, I will say that we should all summarize our unshakable intention

to defend these realities and dreams with two phrases that are now immortal: Socialism or death, fatherland or death, we will win! [end recording]

Aldana Speaks at Higher Education Seminar

FL1003032390 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 0307 GMT 10 Mar 90

[Text] Carlos Aldana, secretary of the Central Committee, stated today that the Cuban people will not give up their principles, which are the same ones that have made their revolution strong and glorious for 31 years. Speaking at the 14th national seminary for leaders in higher education, which is being held in Santiago de Cuba, Aldana said that not yielding is one way to make sure we are respected by imperialism.

In his speech, the secretary of the Central Committee said, in reference to Cuba's current situation, that what is needed now is a sense of struggle, of working with dedication for development and searching for alternative solutions to needs and difficulties. He also reflected on the need to know and study the Cuban experience in depth, and said that we must have more scientific debates, colloquiums, and discussions about our process and those that are occurring in the world.

Miret Calls for Electronics Industry Cooperation

FL1003035190 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 0053 GMT 10 Mar 90

[Report by Roberto Panenque Fonseca on the "Exclusivo" program]

[Text] On 6 June the Cuban Electronics Front will complete five years of uninterrupted work. It has now become an effective focus of the efforts of all the producers, researchers, students, combatants of the Revolutionary Armed Forces and the Ministry of the Interior, and workers in general who are connected with this field, which is decisive for Cuba's future. The Electronics Front is a nonofficial government organization that includes more than 70 organizations registered with the central state administration, and it guides everything Cuba is doing in developing high technology in electronics.

Pedro Miret Prieto, member of the Politburo and vice president of the Council of State and Government, is the president of the Electronics Front. Its executive secretariat includes Commander of the Revolution Ramiro Valdes Menendez, vice president of the Council of Ministers; Samuel Savariego, president of the National Institute for Automated Systems and Computer Technology, INSATC; and numerous ministers, vice ministers, directors, and state officials.

In its first five years of work, the Electronics Front has played a role of primary importance, but now that it is beginning its second five-year period, it needs even higher levels of research, development, and production of electronic equipment and computer programs, which is why Comrade Pedro Miret has insisted on greater cooperation.

[Begin Miret recording] I think this cooperation, in all its forms, is a great achievement, not of INSATC but of the entire group of people, individuals, entities, and organizations which are practically all included in the Electronics Front. [end recording]

This assertion by Comrade Pedro Miret before the highest leaders of the electronics and computer industry in our country is indicative of the fact that only the total cooperation of researchers, producers, students, and workers will lead to the realization of our Commander in Chief Fidel Castro's desire to join all efforts together in what he calls corporation Cuba.

Grenada

Decision To Send Minister to Brazil Canceled

FL1203184790 Bridgetown CANA in English 1527 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] St. George's, Grenada, March 12, CANA—The Grenada Government has backed away from a controversial decision to send Civil Aviation Minister Senator Ben Andrews to Brazil to represent the island at Thursday's [15 March] inauguration of President-elect Fernando Collar de Mello. Andrews was originally due to leave the island on elections day on Tuesday [13 March]. But well-placed sources told CANA that Prime Minister Ben Jones informed Andrews a few days ago that the visit was no longer on.

Political opponents and several letters appearing in the local newspapers had questioned the rationale for selecting Andrews. Some letters alleged that for government to send Andrews to Brazil to represent Grenada at [Collor] de Mello's inauguaration two days after elections was an indication that it already knew the outcome of the poll. Andrews is the campaign manager of the ruling National Party (TNP).

Police Measures 'To Ensure' Voting Takes Place

FL1203194390 Bridgetown CANA in English 1925 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Report by Peter Richards]

[Text] St. George's, Grenada, March 12, CANA—Predictions of violence have surfaced as Grenadians prepare to go the polls on Tuesday [13 March] to elect a new government. Acting police commissioner Samuel Brookes said on Monday [12 March] that the authorities had information "that there are people from outside who have come to assist some parties and probably to disrupt the elections, but we have taken measures to ensure that voting takes place."

"We have arranged for protection at each polling station, there will be two police officers at each polling station,

plus there will be patrols," supervisor of elections Alphonsus Redhead told CANA [Caribbean News Agency].

Prime Minister Ben Jones has warned of the possibility of violence by Jamaican supporters of the New National Party (NNP). But NNP leader Dr. Keith Mitchell dismissed the allegation, saying "the fact is there are no Jamaicans in the country here at this time helping the NNP."

The election, being held on the 11th anniversary of the first coup in the English-speaking Caribbean, will be contested by 77 candidates, representing five political parties and one independent, as compared to the 52 candidates who contested the 1984 polls. Just over 58,000 voters are eligible to cast ballots in the 15 constituencies, about 10,000 above the 1984 figure.

With the multiplicity of parties, independent predictions of a possible result have been few but a university poll suggested that the National Democratic Congress [NDC] may have a good chance of winning. The NDC was leading in five of the 10 constituencies surveyed and was running close in another two. The major political parties have publicly ruled out a coalition administration. "Coalition governments do not work," Mitchell told CANA.

The other parties contesting the polls are Jones' National Party (TNP), the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement (MPBM), and the Grenada United Labour Party (GULP).

After a campaign which began long before Jones announced the election date last month, candidates were winding down with last-minute pleas for support via loudspeakers. "It's been a hell of a campaign," said the owner of a small guest house in the capital.

In the 1984 general elections, policemen were afforded the opportunity of casting their ballots ahead of the polls, but electoral officials said this would not be the case on Tuesday.

"We were hoping to get the facilities in place.... But we did not get through that so everybody will vote tommorrow," Carol Jerome, deputy elections supervisor told CANA. The electoral office said voting will begin at 6 A.M., with the booths closing at 5 P.M. "By seven o'clock we should know the winners," Redhead told CANA.

One political leader may not be present. GULP leader Sir Eric Gairy, who was toppled 11 years ago, is booked on a BWIA [British West Indies Airways] flight to Miami. It is not known why he has planned the trip.

The Grenada Civic Awareness Organisation has been urging Grenadians to "go out and vote in their thousands."

Parties Spend 'Hectic Weekend' Campaigning

FL1203174790 Bridgetown CANA in English 1326 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Report by George Worme]

[Text] St. George's, Grenada, March 11, CANA—It was a hectic weekend of campaigning here across the island for political parties contesting Tuesday's [13 March] general election. While no major incidents were reported there was heckling between New National Party [NNP] and National Democratic Congress [NDC] suporters in the north eastern town of Grenville as they prepared to begin motorcades on Sunday [11 March].

The National Party [TNP] leader, Prime Minister Ben Jones, fingered unidentified Jamaicans helping with the NDC campaign for seeking to introduce violence to the campaign. And Grenada United Labour Party (GULP) leader Sir Eric Gairy said he was harassed by NDC supporters in a rural village two miles north of here while on his way to address a rally of his party.

On Sunday morning the NNP of Dr. Keith Mitchell began a round-the-island motorcade from the Grenville, which was to culminate in a rally in the capital St. George's. People crowded into about 250 cars, trucks, and buses sang party songs, and played recorded speeches of Mitchell made last year before he was sacked as a minister of public utilities and split with the administration of the late Prime Minister Herbert Blaize. The house, the NNP's symbol, sat atop vehicles decorated with the posters of the candidates and party slogans.

The TNP had what could be described as a mini motorcade of 17 vehicles from St. George's to St. Andrew's. Jubilant supporters shouted slogans such as "TNP all the way election day" and "when something is nice you do it twice."

It has been a long campaign for some of the parties especially the NDC of educationist Nicholas Brathwaite which has been having regular meetings since its formation in 1987. The NDC also held a motorcade Sunday.

The events have been dogged by failure by both the NDC and the NNP to have small aircrafts fly around the island Saturday [10 March] and Sunday with their messages urging voters to cast their ballots in their favour. Both had previously secured written permission to have the planes land at Grenada's Point Salines International Airport in the south for banner towing only to have Civil Aviation Minister Ben Andrews overrule the airport authority's board.

GULP, TNP, and the small leftwing Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement (MBPM) would be having less elaborate meetings in different parts of Grenada.

Gairy's GULP would be in Grenville, the TNP at Seamoon, less than two miles away, while the MBPM is travelling to the fishing village of Gouyave on the west coat.

Most of the buildings in the capital, St. George's are plastered with posters from the six parties contesting, the most in any elections in Grenada. They carry messages such as: "Vote NDC for a better Grenada," and "NDC all the way," "Vote NNP and take Grenada forward," and GULP's "Action and progress in education, sports, employment, economic development, and advancement."

The only leftwing party is urging the electorate to vote MBPM for progress, patriotism, integrity, true independence, food and work for all, and for more benefits to the masses.

Brathwaite in Clear Lead According to Poll

FL1203191590 Bridgetown CANA in English 1641 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] St. George's, Grenada, March 12, CANA—His entry into party politics was at the top—as political leader. And his first attempt at parliamentary elections on Tuesday [13 March] could land him the job as Grenada's prime minister at the age of 65, if the hint of an opinion poll proves correct.

But being head of government is nothing new for Nicholas Brathwaite who served as head of an interim administration, and de facto prime minister, for a year after the 1983 American invasion of Grenada. He had been plucked from relative obscurity when he was brought home from heading the Commonwealth Youth Programme's Caribbean Centre in Guyana to be the spokesman for education and health.

But Alister Mcintyre's decision to turn down the chairmanship of the provisional government led Governor General Sir Paul Scoon to call on Brathwaite to steer Grenada back to constitutional government after years of excesses by the right and left. Five years later, in January 1988, he was summoned out of retirement by the opposition National Democratic Congress (NDC) to lead it in general elections on this 133 square mile island.

By his own admission, the respected University of the West Indies-trained educator lacks the charisma of some of Grenada's best known politicians but he does not regard that as a liability. He also brushes aside suggestions that two other dominant personalities in the NDC—former government ministers George Brizan and Dr. Francis Alexis who stepped aside from the leadership—would be the real decision-makers.

"... Quite frankly, I have always admitted that I do not consider myself as charismatic. I don't even consider myself as dynamic but I do not see charisma and dynamism as being related to decision-making," he said.

"I have worked in various leadership roles and I do not think that anybody who knows me would say that I am hesitant to take decisions when the need arises," he said. Brathwaite said that on the basis of his experience as head of the interim government "I do not think it is justified for anybody to think that I would not be decisive in my actions."

He often reminds his critics that Grenada's chequered political history is largely the result of having charismatic leaders at the helm. Two of them, Sir Eric Gairy and Maurice Bishop, were removed from power in 1979 and 1983 by coup d'etats, the only two in the English-speaking Caribbean.

"...If Grenada is to settle down I think what it needs is honest, hard-working leadership without that flair, without that selling of self but which would operate in the national interest," Brathwaite said.

"I personally believe that Grenadians are going to discover that that kind of leadership is going to take us forward to a greater extent than what existed in the past," he added. Brathwaite was also questioned about fears in some circles that if elected into office, he would bring back some retirees into the public service as he did under the interim government.

"I don't know where this suspicion comes from. I think what we want to do generally is to make sure that we have an efficient public service, and if there are qualified young people to do the job then naturally they would be given preference," he said.

"But in certain areas where we do not have the young people with the expertise and the experience then it might be necessary to use people with that expertise and experience."

Brathwaite was confident that if elected into office the NDC would not be plagued by the kind of bitter infighting over leadership which gripped the three-party coalition government of Blaize which was elected into office in the 1984 general elections. He also ruled out the possibility of there being a challenge to his leadership.

He said that the NDC had agreed to and included in its constitution a clause to the effect that while the party was in government there would be no elections for the post of political leader.

"...If something happened and I were to lose the prime ministership which I don't see happening then certainly I would resign as political leader," he said. "What the party wants to ensure is that you don't have two different persons, one as political leader and one as prime minister within the same party," he said. During the last year of Blaize's rule, he lost the top party post to Public Utilities Minister Dr. Keith Mitchell.

Blaize subsequently fired Mitchell from his cabinet and along with some loyalists withdrew from NNP to form The National Party (TNP).

Also expected to come in for some changes under a Brathwaite government is the length of time any one person can remain as prime minister in the country. He

favours prime minister being limited to two terms. "I have been a supporter of this for ages. We are going to make certain constitutional changes which would enforce this," he said.

Brathwaite is himself seeking to inherit the Carriacou and Petit Martinique seat left vacant by the death of Blaize. An opinion poll puts the NDC in the clear lead in five out of 10 constituencies and involved in a close fight in two others. There are 15 seats at stake.

Committed to Caribbean Unity

FL1303012390 Bridgetown CANA in English 2113 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Hillsborough, Carriacou, March 12, CANA—The National Democratic Congress (NDC) said on Monday [12 March] that it was committed to the idea of a political union of the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) if it wins general elections here on Tuesday.

"We are going to set up a consultative group to assist us in that ... We are committed to that idea," Nicholas Brathwaite, leader of the NDC, told the Caribbean news agency.

"We are fully committed to the OECS unity. It is unfortunate that the previous government did not do anything at all to educate the people of Grenada ... We want them to know the pros and cons and we are certainly going to recommend to them a yes for political unity."

The OECS groups the islands of Antigua and Barbuda, St. Lucia, Dominica, Grenada, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, St. Kitts and Nevis, and Montserrat. Brathwaite said his organisation was also fully committed to strengthening the regional integration movement, Caribbean Community (Caricom).

He said this would extend to the proposals by Barbados for the establishment of a Caribbean assembly of parliamentarians, and Trinidad and Tobago for a Caribbean court of appeal.

New National Party's Mitchell Predicts Victory

FL1203162490 Bridgetown CANA in English 1736 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Text] St. George's, Grenada, March 11, CANA—Two days before general elections in Grenada, the opposition New National Party (NNP) of former public utilities minister, Dr. Keith Mitchell is predicting victory. According to Mitchell the party is sure of picking up at least 8 of the 15 constituencies. He told CANA that the NNP would win all five seats on the west coast, two in St. Andrew's parish, along with St. David's.

"We have eight seats definitely in the taking," he said.

Mitchell identified the west coast seats as his own St. George's north-west, St. John's, St. Mark's, St. Patrick's east, St. Patrick's west, and those in St. Andrew's as both north-east and south-east. Mitchell's NNP is holding an islandwide motorcade on Sunday [11 March].

Gairy Denies Plan To Leave Country Election Day

FL1303010590 Bridgetown CANA in English 2342 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] St. George's, Grenada, March 12, CANA—Former Grenada Prime Minister Sir Eric Gairy denied on Monday night [12 March] that he was booked to fly to Miami on Tuesday morning, when Grenadians begin to vote for a new government. Copies of an airline ticket purportedly issued to Gairy were circulated to some journalists here.

But in a telephone call to CANA, Gairy said the story was a hoax. "I have no flight booked with BWIA. It is absolute untruth. That is the work of the drug barons ... Who intend to do all that they could to stop me from winning," he said.

"It is atrocious that I would want to leave Grenada when the people have shown so much love and confidence in me," he added.

Gairy said it was the work of his detractors who made the ticket in an act of desperation but nothing they do will keep him and his labour party, one of five parties contesting the elections, from forming a government.

"I am as confident about winning the elections as I was in 1972 when I got 13 of the 15 seats," he said.

Gairy was toppled by the Maurice Bishop-led New Jewel Movement in the Caribbean's first coup in 1979 and the elections are being held precisely on the 11th anniversary of that revolution.

Hardline Leftist Call To 'Crush Gairyism'

FL0903202290 Bridgetown CANA in English 1908 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] St. George's, Grenada, March 9, CANA—Supporters of the hardline faction in Grenada's ill-fated leftist New Jewel Movement (NJM) have issued a call for all "patriots" on the island to use next Tuesday's [13 March] general elections to vote decisively against former right-wing Prime Minister Sir Eric Gairy.

The call is made in a leaflet circulated under the name of a committee to celebrate the 11th anniversary of the March 13, 1979 NJM coup that toppled Gairy. The NJM was itself toppled in a U.S. led 1983 invasion that followed a split between hardliners and moderates.

Seventeen leftist military and political leaders are currently before the court of appeal challenging death and heavy prison sentences handed down on them in 1986 in connection with the killing of moderate Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and a number of ministers a week before the invasion.

The left said in the pamphlet that because of the number of opposition parties contesting the elections, Gairy's Grenada United Labour Party (GULP) was definitely ahead in the race for political power. Apart from GULP, the other political parties taking part in the elections are the ruling National Party (TNP), the National Democratic Congress (NDC), the New National Party (NNP), the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement (MBPM), and Good Old Democracy (GOD).

According to the pamphlet, the best way to ensure the defeat of the "dictator" is for the electorate to vote for candidates "with the best chance of defeating the GULP candidate whether we like that candidate or not."

"Patriots of Grenada, the moment of decision has come and we must be decisive. We must rise to the challenge in a mature, sober-headed way for the destiny of this country lies in our hands. Our votes would determine the winner on March 13, 1990. Let us therefore use the opportunity to crush Gairyism in a peaceful way, without guns," the pamphlet said.

The left stated that there is no better way for Grenadians to pay tribute to the ideals of the anniversary of the revolution than by crushing Gairyism once and for all on through the ballot box on Tuesday.

The pamphlet said that if Gairy were to return to power there would be "instability, violence, turmoil, and hardships". "...If Gairy wins there would certainly be a mass exodus of Grenadians. People would be afraid to invest in this country, thus making much needed jobs scarcer," it added.

There was a call by the left for all workers, women, and youths. "Bring them out to the various polling stations in massive numbers on elections day. Celebrate the 11th anniversary of the Grenada revolution with the final crushing of Gairy's GULP," the pamphlet said.

Newspaper Appeals for Truce in Political Arena

FL1203145790 Bridgetown CANA in English 1716 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Text] St. George's, Grenada, March 11, CANA—The Grenadian VOICE newspaper, in its last edition before Tuesday's [13 March] general elections, has called on political parties here to bring an end to the bitterness and hate in the island's political arena. The paper urged the parties in an editorial to work toward reconciliation and unity for the good of "our country and our people." The VOICE said that the campaign leading up to the elections had been dogged by too much divisiveness, bitterness, and hatred.

Against the backdrop of widespread reports that many people are not interested in voting, the VOICE made a last minute appeal for a change of mind saying that voting was not only a duty but a responsibility. The VOICE also appealed to Grenadians to co-operate with the incoming government after polling day.

It went on: "...We should all be prepared to work in harmony with whatever government is put in place as the result of the elections, as we shall certainly try to do while fulfilling the important role that we are supposed to. It will also be the duty of the government to recognize that they will be the government and representatives of all the people and not just those who voted for them. They must govern evenly," the paper said.

A total of 76 candidates are contesting the 15 constituencies at stake

Haiti

General Abraham Announces Provisional President

FL1203185290 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in Creole 1656 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Speech by Major General Herard Abraham, interim commander in chief of the Haitian Armed Forces, FADH, delivered in his office in Port-au-Prince—live; monitored in progress, italicized portions in French]

[Excerpts] [Reporter] [passage omitted] Gen. Abraham is now going to speak.

[Abraham] *[Passage indistinct]. Very happy that [words indistinct] shows that the Haitian people [words indistinct] with the Haitian Army [words indistinct].* Thus, as you have asked me to do, I will give [words indistinct].

[Reporter] Gen. Abraham is going to read the document that the Assembly for Concerted Action has just given him. We are going to hear Gen. Abraham.

[Abraham] *Port-au-Prince, 11 March 1990. [To] Major Gen. Herard Abraham, head of the General Staff of the Haitian Armed Forces [FADH] [and the] members of the General Staff of the FADH, FADH General Headquarters.*

Gentlemen: The Assembly for Concerted Action by the political parties and the Committee for the Respect of the Constitution wishes to inform you that at a plenary session at 1900 on 11 March, the Assembly chose attorney Ertha Pascal Trouillot, judge of the Court of Cassation, to be president of the provisional government, as per the terms of the alternative voted on and accepted on 4 March.

Attorney Trouillot has accepted. (?You will find) attached a copy of the document of acceptance.

Please allow us to express to you, Mr. Commander in Chief and gentlemen members of the General Staff, our patriotic [words indistinct].

[Signed:] Victor Benoit, Conacom [National Committee of the Congress of Democratic Movements]; Rev. Antoine Leroy, MDN [Mobilization for National Development]; Marc Louis Bazin, MIDH [Movement for the Establishment of Democracy in Haiti]; Sylvio Claude, PDCH [Haitian Christian Democratic Party]; Seymour Romain, PNDPH [National Democratic Progressive Party of

Haiti]; Edouard Tardieu, PPSC [Social Christian People's Party of Haiti]; Dejean Belizaire, MNP-28 [National Patriotic Movement of 28 November]; Emmanuel Beauvais, MOP [Movement for the Organization of the Country]; Arnold Antonin, Panpra [Nationalistic and Progressive Revolutionary Party of Haiti]; Rene Theodore, PUCH [Unified Party of Haitian Communists]; Jean Claude Roy, UCH [Union of Haitian Constitutionalists]; Father Antoine Adrien, [Unity Committee for the Respect of the Constitution].

[Unidentified speaker] [Words indistinct] Mrs. Trouillot's acceptance.

[Reporter] We are still in the office of Gen. Abraham, who replaced Gen. Avril after Avril resigned. The Assembly has delivered to him the document of acceptance. We are going to hear Gen. Abraham.

[Abraham] *I, the undersigned, Mrs. Ertha Pascal Trouillot, judge of the Court of Cassation of the Republic, hereby certify that I have fully accepted the choice of myself, made by the Assembly for Concerted Action of the political parties and the Committee for the Respect of the Constitution, to ensure [words indistinct] the democratic governmental transition that was proposed in the alternative of the socio-political groups to safeguard the nation's unity and well-being.*

Port-au-Prince, 11 March 1990.

[Signed:] Ertha Pascal Trouillot, attorney, judge of the Court of Cassation of the Republic of Haiti.

[Reporter] Thus, this is the letter in which Mrs. Ertha Pascal Trouillot says she accepts the choice made of herself to govern the country after Gen. Abraham turns the government over to her. The ceremony at which this will be done could take place by tomorrow.

This ceremony just took place in Gen. Abraham's office. And Gen. Abraham is going to talk again.

[Abraham] ...to hand power over within 72 hours [words indistinct] (?all posts) to respect the time limit that the nation has given me. I would hope that we could hand over power to President Ertha Pascal Trouillot even before the 72 hours have elapsed so she can form her government so we can (?hold elections), so the Haitian people can have the democratic government they want.

And I also hope we can reach agreement before 1900 [on 12 March] to install the provisional president. [passage indistinct]

Reaction to Departure of Avril Surveyed

FL1303001490

[Editorial Report] Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole carries at 1700 GMT on 12 March a 60-minute newscast in both French and Creole. With mobile units reporting live on the situation in the capital, the atmosphere remains tense, with several arrests reported in Carrefour. Also, food warehouses are reported looted in addition to looting on National Highway No. One near Acierie d'Haiti, where policemen have fired off rounds to disperse crowds. Damien, the Ministry of Agriculture's premises, has been repeatedly looted since last night. However, the only intervention so far has been in the vicinity of Acierie d'Haiti.

According to Radio Metropole, "the night preceding Prosper Avril's departure was a long and difficult one for the opposition, and also for the group of 12." There was much sporadic gunfire in the capital and rumors of a foiled macoute plan to murder political leaders, as explained by Haitian Christian Democratic Party leader Sylvio Claude. Claude reports having contacted General Abraham last night, 11 March, and that Gen. Abraham brought under control at least three groups who were ready to effect a planned massacre and that the general worked until late into the night to obtain General Avril's departure.

"We congratulate Gen. Abraham; the Armed Forces general staff; and foreign embassies such as those of the United States, France, and Canada; which worked very hard to achieve Avril's departure," says Claude. Adding that danger remains, Claude asks that Claude Raymond, Clovis Desinor, Jean Theagene, Volvick Remy Joseph, and Lamartiniere Honorat, among others, leave the country of their own volition. Claude says: "We will always have trouble holding elections as long as they are in Haiti." Rev. Claude also asks the people to calm down and lift the barricades while the strike is still on.

The coalition composed of the Movement for the Organization of the Country, Mobilization for National Development [MDN] and National Agricultural and Industrial Party [PAIN] announces that MDN leader Hubert de Ronceray will be returning to Haiti at 1400 on 14 March. The coalition asks that there be "no reprisals and no injustices." In a call from Washington, Nicolas Estiverne, head of the Party of the Moderate Republic, also announces that he will return to Haiti on 15 March and asks the population to stop looting. Estiverne adds that he does not feel anyone on the Court of Cassation deserves to be interim representative of the Haitian people.

Attorney Gerard Gourgue breaks a long silence to observe that political parties of different leanings have been able to come together with one another to overthrow a military government without the help of the Army, and that this is historic. Gourgue tells Metropole that he is almost certain he will not be a candidate in the coming elections.

Speaking for the Catholic Church, Father Yvon Massac calls on the population to remain mobilized until the provisional government has guarantees it can function normally, because all the macoutes have not yet been uprooted. Massac says: "The Catholic Church will not seek any amnesty for criminals who have not repented

and who have not yet paid for any of their crimes. If it were to do so, this would not constitute charity; it would constitute immorality, and they would be obliging the Haitian people to take justice into their own hands."

The Autonomous Organization of Haitian Workers through spokesman Yves Antoine Richard calls for a general mobilization of the population "until the final victory," for "demacoutizing the nation and all public administrations," and that the enlisted men, children of the Haitian people in the Haitian Army "begin disarming all the Tontons Macoutes and undercover detectives who have been sowing terror and mourning among the population."

PAIN asks seven things of the future government: demacoutize the public administration; find the ways and means to cause justice to be done; respect the Constitution of 1987; take care of ordinary government business while trying to satisfy the most urgent of the popular demands; guarantee the complete independence of a credible CEP; prepare the nation for free and honest elections within a reasonable length of time; and favor no candidate whatsoever.

Finally, two soldiers in the studio express a desire to return to the Dessalines Barracks in the capital. They say the barracks were closed down because they were fighting for the Haitian people. Now that Avril is gone, they are asking "the Haitian people, the Army, and the lady who is, God willing, going to take power tomorrow" to reopen the Dessalines Barracks and the Leopard camp so the men can return to their families.

Theodore Comments

FL1203203190 Port-au-Prince Radio Antilles Internationales in French 1230 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Rene Theodore of the PUCH [Unified Party of Haitian Communists] has expressed satisfaction at the news of General Avril's departure. [passage omitted] Here is Rene Theodore:

[Begin Theodore recording, in Creole] We are relieved, because Gen. Avril's presence represented potential insecurity for everyone fighting for the real change we want in Haiti. [passage omitted]

He (?still) had a series of means associated with everything the Duvalierists would like to do—intimidate the population, terrorize it to create a situation in Haiti that would make all foreign countries believe Haiti was in chaos.

The international press had already begun saying that nothing was under control in Haiti, that the Army did not control anything—as if to say there was chaos and anarchy in Haiti. This was a way to cause foreign intervention in Haiti. And the presence of Prosper Avril and his thugs in Haiti, who [passage indistinct]. Over the past two days they had already started doing it, both day and night. They were encouraging this vile idea regarding anarchy in Haiti as if to show that if thugs are not in power in Haiti, there is no leadership in the country.

The Haitian people are showing that they can indeed get on the path to democracy autonomously, and that the solution the group of 12 proposed the nation and which the entire Haitian people supported, is a consensus solution. This is a coalition at work here, and this coalition will enter the palace to bring about the transition to democracy and show how our people are really ready to make this transition peacefully. [passage omitted]

Last night was a difficult night, a night of terror, because there were many threats hanging over the heads of radio stations and certain citizens and political leaders. We managed to alert public opinion on this. The Haitian people were on the alert, and the Haitian Army reacted and provided protection in all the areas we pointed out as being areas where the thugs were supposed to strike.

We say that with these measures that are beginning to be taken (?within) the Haitian Army, confidence in the Army's ability to prevent the thugs from taking action against the citizenry is beginning to be reestablished. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Bourjolly Warns of Attacks, Assassinations

FL1203200790 Port-au-Prince Radio Antilles Internationales in Creole 0309 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] Attention. Attention. Attention. Everyone please listen carefully to what is going to be said here. We have Max Bourjolly on the line. He is going to make a very important statement. Mr. Bourjolly, you are on the air.

[Bourjolly] The enemies of change refuse to give up and now they are sowing terror in the capital. They have burned warehouses. They have murdered a Haitian Army major. And they are planning to carry out other assassinations during the night, and also attack Radio Antilles, Radio Haiti-Inter, and Radio Lumiere.

Their objective is to get the Haitian Army to revolt against the Haitian people and against General Herard Abraham. Their objective is to prevent the transition from being effected in the way the Haitian people want, to create chaos so there will be an intervention in Haiti. That is what they have in mind. That is what they want. Many citizens in Haiti are in great danger, among them some quite well-known people, such as Rudy Malebranche, Dr. Robert Jean-Louis, Mrs. Gladys Lauture, Father Jean-Bertrand Aristide, and others.

We ask the population to be vigilant. We ask the Haitian Army to increase all their patrols tonight, particularly in the vicinity of Delmas 31, Delmas 33, Delmas 29, the Hasco [Haitian-American Sugar Company] intersection; and the Sarthe, Drouillard, and Duvivier areas where the transmitters of several different radio stations are located, so thugs will not be able to knock out the radios or perpetrate crimes against certain prominent figures.

The situation is extremely serious. What is at stake is the future of democracy. In view of the seriousness of the

situation we think it would be a good idea for them [not further identified] to make General Avril leave quickly, because his presence in the country encourages the criminals and thugs to think a restoration is still possible. Let us keep watch together tonight, so there will be no bloodshed. We ask the Haitian Army not to use the population as a target, not to play these peoples' games, for the population wants to collaborate with the Army to make outlaws of the forces of darkness, the forces of death.

Two 'Armed Civilians' Killed Army Major

FL1203170790 Port-au-Prince Radio Antilles Internationales in Creole 1730 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Text] A major has been shot and killed on Delmas 39 by two armed civilians who fired on him from a passing vehicle. The body has been picked up. Soldiers and policemen, however, are firing many rounds in the area to force the population to go inside their homes.

National Power Company Announces Frequent Cuts

FL1203195090 Port-au-Prince Radio Antilles Internationales in French 1230 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Here is a notice from the National Electric Company of Haiti [EDH]: Because of the extraordinary crisis the country is in, EDH will, as of 12 March, be unable to supply the thermoelectric plants in Carrefour and Varreaux with fuel. Consequently, it is advising the public that it will be obliged to cut power frequently in both industrial and residential areas. EDH is counting on the public to be understanding and cooperative to help it respond in case of emergency.

USSR Envoy on Defense of Cuba, Gorbachev Visit

PA0903144190 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0110 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Mexico City, 8 Mar (EFE)—Rostislav Sergeyev, USSR Ambassador to Mexico, stated today that the Soviet Union will not allow foreign intervention in Cuba. The ambassador made these statements after a meeting at the Government Secretariat in Mexico City.

The Soviet diplomat reaffirmed that his country will defend Cuba's right to independence because it is a country that wants peace and security and that holds excellent, good, and normal relations with the USSR.

Sergeyev insisted that not only has Cuba received many things from the Soviet Union, but that the Soviet Union has also received many things from Cuba. He added that the exchange between both countries is important.

Concerning the European situation, the diplomat rejected the possibility of a return to the cold war and pointed out as an example of their good intentions the Soviet troop withdrawal from Czechoslovakia to propitiate detente.

Sergeyev reaffirmed the possibility of USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev officially visiting Mexico this year and added that for this to occur, the necessary contacts between both governments would be required.

Parties Complain of 'Hoodlums' at U.S. Border

PA1203224690 Mexico City THE NEWS in English 4 Mar 90 p 3

[Text] Political party representatives in Mexico have requested that the Foreign and Gobernacion Secretariats lodge formal complaints with Washington about reports that Mexican nationals are being attacked by at the border by young hoodlums playing "war games."

Alfredo Villegas, a leading member of the PRI [Institutional Revolutionary Party], and Fernando Francisco Ortiz Mendoza of the PPS [Popular Socialist Party], said that Mexican nationals are humiliated, beaten, abused and even murdered by these roving gangs in the border area between Tijuana and San Diego who satisfy their ego by attacking "defenseless women and children."

"They have all the courage in the world when they are holding a gun on these unarmed, defenseless unfortunates," they said.

They added that there have been too many complaints on the same subject, and if the U.S. authorities are so tolerant that they prefer to see their children "loosen up" by attacking and killing helpless people instead of having gang wars in their city streets, "it is a poor choice," they added.

The party spokesmen said that Mexicans do not receive sufficient assistance from Mexican consuls because they are "too busy" to hear complaints.

They added they are presenting a motion to the Permanent Commission of Congress demanding action from the Secretariats of Foreign Relations and Gobernacion. They said there is a Commission of Border Affairs in Tijuana gathering information on these acts to curb them.

"We may be considered third class citizens in the United States but we can still hope for some action," they said.

El Salvador

* FINATA Says FMLN Slowing Land Reform

32480239A

[Editorial Report] The San Salvador Spanish-language newspaper EL DIARIO DE HOY of 14 February 1990 reports on pages 2 and 15 statements by FINATA [National Financial Institution for Agricultural Lands] President Raul Garcia Prieto that the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] is to blame that the land reform process has not advanced. He made these statements at the inauguration of the Peasant Advisory Council [CCC] and he called for unity among peasant farmers in order to rescue the country's agriculture and overcome the current crisis caused by the FMLN.

According to Garcia Prieto "the subversives are to blame that land reform has not advanced, because funds for financing the Land Bank were diverted towards the defense of national security as a result of the terrorist offensive in November."

Garcia Prieto said, however, that he had met with Planning Minister Mirna Lievano the previous day in order to obtain funds and was assured that the Land Bank would begin operations within 4 weeks.

At the same time requests by peasant organizations and cooperatives were reiterated asking that AID [Agency for International Development] as well as governments which have offered funds for the purchase and sale of land act quickly on their offers.

Garcia Prieto said that at the meeting yesterday all peasant organizations were invited to participate in the CCC since President Cristiani wants to unite all peasant farmers and end the divisiveness in the countryside promoted by the previous government.

Garcia Prieto added that yesterday was an historic day because it was the first time an organization had been formed in which all peasant farmers would be represented and would no longer be manipulated.

* Peasant Groups Protest CCC Elections

32480240A

[Editorial Report] The San Salvador Spanish-language newspaper EL MUNDO of 14 February 1990 reports on page 3 that the Peasant Advisory Council [CCC] was formed the previous day amid protests against the procedures used to elect its representatives. The CCC was criticized as a progovernment body which will disrupt the unity of peasant workers organizations. The CCC will be directly involved in Land Bank operations and in all matters related to agrarian reform.

The CCC was an initiative of the National Financial Institution of Agricultural Lands [FINATA] and the Salvadoran Institute for Agrarian Reform [ISTA], whose presidents, Raul Garcia Prieto and Ramon Francisco Aparicio Rivas, have been working with delegations from peasant organizations and agricultural cooperatives since the end of last year.

Yesterday's incident caused delegates of at least 6 peasant organizations to leave the meeting in protest against the manner in which CCC secretaries were being elected.

UN To Lend Good Offices for Dialogue

PA1203225090 San Salvador EL MUNDO in Spanish 7 March 90 p 3

[Text] According to statements made by Mr. Alvaro de Soto, special envoy for UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, after meeting with Monsignor Arturo Rivera y Damas and Monsignor Gregorio Rosa Chavez, the participation of the United Nations in a coming dialogue will not be to mediate but to lend its good offices.

Perez de Cuellar's envoy stated: "We are engaged in an effort to coordinate the will and energy in support of the peace process in El Salvador." Asked about hope for peace, Alvaro de Soto replied: "We will make our utmost effort and trust that this hope will not be dashed."

Regarding a report that De Soto may be the bearer of an FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] proposal for President Cristiani, he said: "We are not acting as transmitters of proposals. We are still in the exploratory phase on how to establish a serious and sincere procedure for seeking a negotiated solution to the Salvadoran conflict."

Asked about the UN's participation, Alvaro de Soto explained: "The term we use is 'good offices.' The UN Security Council has given the secretary general a mandate to use its good offices to help the Central American countries search for peace."

An official communique on the meeting between President Alfredo Cristiani and UN Assistant Secretary Werrack Gliwe [name as published] states:

San Salvador, 6 March 90—One of the principal points broached by President Alfredo Cristiani and UN Assistant Secretary Werrack Gliwe during a meeting held on 6 March at the presidential house, was an increase in the strength of ONUCA [UN Observer Group for Central America] in the coming days in Honduras, Nicaragua, and El Salvador.

As is recalled, in the San Isidro de Coronado declaration in Costa Rica, the five Central American presidents agreed to ask the UN secretary general "to establish the necessary links to more directly involve the interested states in the region in the peace effort, all within the framework of the Esquipulas II accord and subsequent declarations."

In the same document, they asked the UN secretary general "to expand the ONUCA mandate to include the verification of the cease-fire process and the agreement on the demobilization of irregular troops in the region."

During his meeting with the UN secretary general, President Cristiani also discussed the topic of vigilance at the Gulf of Fonseca, for which purpose patrol boats will be arriving in the coming days.

The president spoke to his guest regarding the establishment of posts along the "pockets" of border territory of El Salvador and Honduras, that is, in places where the borderline between the two countries has not been defined.

FMLN Comments on U.S. Policy in Region

PA1303041490 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 0000 GMT 4 Mar 90

[Station Commentary: "Bipartisan Support for What?"]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State Baker has asked the U.S. Congress to maintain its bipartisan policy toward El Salvador. The United States' foreign policy toward Central America—and especially toward El Salvador and Nicaragua—is a hot issue in Washington's congressional debates and decisionmaking.

Of course Mr. Baker's recommendation is correct. The United States needs a clear, congressionally backed policy toward El Salvador. The million dollar question in congressmen's offices is not about the advantages of a concensus policy by Republicans and Democrats, but rather what policy in Central America would be more advantageous to Washington and, concurrently, what Washington policy would be more advantageous to Central America.

It behooves the U.S. Congress to take a close and realistic look at the democratization process that the Sandinists have outlined in Nicaragua to establish policies toward El Salvador. The Sandinist revolutionaries have proven to the Americans that it is possible to develop a democratic model characterized by political pluralism, a mixed economy, respect for human rights, and a national army that is subordinate to a civilian government's decisions and policies.

El Salvador is standing at the threshold of a democratic model which undoubtedly depends on decisions by the U.S. Congress, because the possibility of democratizing El Salvador depends on negotiating the war's end.

We know that Republican and Democratic congressmen are aware that the leading hindrance to democracy in El Salvador is the Armed Forces. It is urgent—as Mr. James Baker says—for Washington to establish a bipartisan policy that will effectively exert pressure and bring about negotiations between the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] and Cristiani's government, with the mediation of [UN Secretary General] Perez de Cuellar. It is necessary to negotiate. It is necessary to negotiate to create real conditions for democracy in El Salvador, not to eternally maintain one party in power, not to perpetuate a militarized society, not to continue contributing $1.5 million daily to the maintenance of a war apparatus that cannot win the war and that is afflicted with corruption at all levels.

In effect, the U.S. Congress should establish a bipartisan policy toward El Salvador. This policy, however, should favor a military purge, negotiations, and El Salvador's democratization.

Deserters Term FMLN Situation 'Precarious'

PA1303003390 San Salvador LA PRENSA GRAFICA in Spanish 12 Mar 90 p 2

[Text] The lack of control that prevails among the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberatin Front] leaders is the ultimate cause of the vandalism in which terrorists are forced to participate, according to extremists who have recently deserted the organization.

Upon laying down their weapons at the 4th Infantry Brigade, Manuel de Jesus Quintanilla (Gerardo) and Manuel Orellana Fuentes (Edwin) fully explained their reasons for leaving the FDR [Revolutionary Democratic Front]/FMLN, referring particularly to the lack of control that prevails among the FMLN's leaders, who force fighters to perpetrate all sorts of atrocities and acts of vandalism against the defenseless civilian population.

The two deserters explained that to get away from the terrorist group they first buried their weapons, and later, using paths and routes they had learned beforehand, went to the 4th Brigade installations to report where they had hidden the weapons and to express their desire to return to their respective family groups.

Gerardo and Edwin explained that even before the Sandinist National Liberation Front was defeated in Nicaragua's presidential elections, the situation of the FDR/FMLN was precarious and extremely difficult. Since the elections, they added, matters have worsened to the point where the "commanders" find it very difficult to retain the men. The desertion rate is enormous, they concluded.

Guatemala

Mob Stones Human Rights Group in El Quiche

PA1203221690 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 2155 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] Guatemala, 3 Mar (DPA)—Several Mutual Support Group (GAM) leaders—including GAM President Nineth de Garcia, union leaders, and newspaper reporters—were stoned by a small mob in Chupol Municipality, El Quiche Province, in northwestern Guatemala, leaving at least 20 persons injured, according to reports prominently published today in local newspapers. GAM is a human rights organization.

According to newspaper reports, leaders of GAM—a group that investigates the whereabouts of kidnapped persons or persons who have disappeared in Guatemala—were on their way to the cantons of Sacpuluc and Chunima in Chupol Municipality, when they were stoned by a mob of men. Approximately 20 persons were injured and 6 children disappeared during the incident, according to the newspaper EL GRAFICO, which also published photographs of the attack.

EL GRAFICO added that the vehicle in which the GAM leaders were travelling was partially destroyed and that GAM President Nineth de Garcia and other GAM leaders were among the injured.

For its part, the newspaper PRENSA LIBRE reported that the GAM delegation was going to stage a demonstration to protest "the abuses carried out by Civil Defense Patrol (PAC) members against the civilian population and GAM members." PRENSA LIBRE added that a mob armed with stones, clubs, and machetes was waiting for the GAM delegation, which suspended the scheduled demonstration because of the attack.

As a result, GAM today reported the incident to Guatemalan Human Rights Attorney General Ramiro de Leon Carpio and to the courts.

Honduras

Government Accelerates Contra Departure Process

PA1203213790 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1829 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Tegucigalpa, 12 Mar (ACAN-EFE)—The Honduran Government is accelerating the process to send the approximately 12,000 "contras" out of the country as soon as possible. The "contras" are presently in Yamales, the eastern region of the country that borders Nicaragua.

For this purpose, Honduran President Rafael Leonardo Callejas designated Interior Minister Francisco Cardona to talk with the Nicaraguan Resistance commanders, and he also sent a mission to Managua last weekend.

Callejas sent his private secretary, Gilberto Goldstein, and his advisor, Mario Rivera Lopez, to Managua. The Honduras mission held talks with Nicaraguan Vice President Sergio Ramirez, Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo, and members of the new Chamorro government that is to take power on 25 April.

Goldstein noted that the Honduran Government considers the "prompt demobilization" of the anti-Sandinist rebels to be necessary, but cannot set a definite date for it.

He added that a tentative date for the departure of the "contras" is 25 April and that the proposal was "well-received" by present and future Nicaraguan officials.

However, Goldstein noted that the date for the "contra" demobilization is to be set by the International Commission of Support and Verfication (CIAV), the United Nations, and the Central American presidents themselves. The official stated that Callejas is promoting the departure of the "contras" to comply with the agreements signed by the Central American presidents in Tela, Honduras, on 7 August 1989.

The Honduran efforts were announced a few days before UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar will report his "contra" demobilization plan, in which the UN Observer Group to Central America (ONUCA) will participate.

There will also be a meeting in Washington this week between the CIAV and the "contras" to discuss the enclaves in Nicaraguan territory where the Nicaraguan Resistance fighters will be relocated. The "contra" delegation is formed by Commanders "Ruben," "Renato," and "Emiliano" and their advisors, Aristides Sanchez and Domingo Salinas. An anti-Sandinist spokesman reported that the meeting is to be held on 14 and 15 March.

A meeting was also held on 10 March in Yamales (Honduras) between "contra" command staff members and ONUCA officials, who have an observation post in Danli in eastern Honduras. Details of the topics discussed at that meeting were not disclosed.

Youth's Attempt on President's Life Foiled

PA1203163690 Paris AFP in Spanish 1528 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Tegucigalpa, 12 Mar (AFP)—The Honduran police have arrested a black youth who tried to kill President Rafael Callejas at an airbase on 11 March as he was preparing to travel to Chile after a stopover in Venezuela, the authorities reported today.

The youth, identified as Rando Fernando Wooleri, 25, managed to get past the guards at the Hernan Acosta Mejia Airbase and approached the landing gear of the Venezuelan aircraft that took Callejas and Costa Rican President Oscar Arias to South America.

Apparently the youth was under the influence of drugs and admitted that his intention was "to kill Callejas," the same sources said, although they did not specify the nature of the attack.

Authorities are investigating how Wooleri managed to dodge the strict security around the airbase and the presidential bodyguards. After he was overpowered by the staff members at the airbase, Wooleri, holding his shirt in his hands, with his torso uncovered, was handcuffed and taken to a patrol vehicle of the public security force, which later took him into custody.

Wooleri, who at the time of his arrest did not have any personal identification, is from Islas de la Bahia, the only insular department of Honduras, and lives with his

parents in El Bosque neighborhood in the northern part of Tegucigalpa, the police have reported.

Callejas attended Chilean President Patricio Aylwin's inauguration ceremony on 11 March. During the flight from Caracas to Santiago, he participated in a minisummit with his colleagues Arias, Daniel Ortega (Nicaragua), Carlos Andres Perez (Venezuela), and Felipe Gonzalez (Spain) during which the current Central American situation was discussed.

Nicaragua

FSLN Commander Carrion Cruz Interviewed

PA1303015390 Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 6 Mar 90 p 3

["Exclusive" interview with Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN) Commander Luis Carrion Cruz by unidentified reporter in Managua on 5 March]

[Text] [Reporter] Commander, you said at the meeting of FSLN militants that the country's security depends on the integrity of the EPS [Sandinist People's Army] and the MINT [Interior Ministry]. Does this mean that both institutions are untouchable for the new government? Is this matter being discussed at the negotiations on the transfer of power?

[Carrion] The integrity of the EPS and the MINT are essential conditions to return tranquility and security to all Nicaraguans. Those two institutions are ruled by the laws of the country, and they guaranteed the electoral process, thus showing their commitment to democracy. Those institutions ensure the Sandinists and all Nicaraguans that the fateful period of Somozism or anything similar to it will never return to Nicaragua. Therefore, the basis for the peaceful and orderly transfer of power to the elected government of Mrs. Chamorro is the preservation of the integrity of those institutions.

[Reporter] Some UNO [National Opposition Union] sectors have proposed that there should be some kind of parallelism between the demobilization of the contras and the reduction of the EPS forces. Is the reduction in the EPS forces a condition for the demobilization of the counterrevolution?

[Carrion] The demobilization of the contras should take place with no conditions at all. This is not simply the position of the FSLN. The agreements of the Central American presidents order the demobilization of the contras. There is no relationship between the Army's situation and the demobilization of the contras. They are two separate issues. The contras must be demobilized without conditions, because at this time, they represent a threat to the lives and property of all Nicaraguans.

[Reporter] To what extent are the norms and the ranking system in the military a guarantee of its integrity?

[Carrion] At this time, the Armed Forces have a high degree of institutionalization, with perfectly defined procedures for selecting high-ranking officers, developing and training its rank and file, and assigning military rank. These procedures have to do with the high degree of professionalism attained by these institutions, and to some extent they are part of the elements that ensure the integrity of our armed institutions.

[Reporter] What is the FSLN's priority for maintaining the country's political stability during these weeks of transition?

[Carrion] The priority is to satisfactorily resolve at the negotiations—which are to be held between the current government and the elected government of Mrs. Chamorro—the issues of the integrity of the Armed Forces, the political and personal guarantees for the Sandinists, the future role of the FSLN as the main opposition party, and the minimum amount of security needed for all the people who in these past years have obtained material benefits from the revolution, such as those who received land, houses, etc.

[Reporter] Let me give you a specific case. If Jaime Morales Carazo comes here and asks President Ortega to turn over his house, what will happen?

[Carrion] I guess in Miami and many other places there are a lot of people who are inventing all kinds of hopes and illusions for themselves. People are probably already making demands. That situation must be solved through political negotiations, because this is a political problem, not a family problem. In Nicaragua, thousands of families who benefited from the revolution now feel completely insecure. That is a threat to peace and to the country's political stability. Along with other important reasons, these elections were held to achieve a definitive peace. Things such as the security, stability, and tranquility of thousands of families are essential for keeping the peace for which we have struggled and will continue struggling.

[Reporter] What can you tell us about medium-term prospects? Do you believe, Commander Carrion, that the Bush administration will respect this democratic model once the new government assumes the Nicaraguan presidency, or will it rather try to crush Sandinism?

[Carrion] It is difficult to make predictions. Yet, we cannot afford to have illusions that may lead us to let our guard down either. The historic behavior of the United States has favored neither democracy nor the right of progressive and revolutionary forces to exist. The United States has repeatedly committed itself to the most severe military dictatorships. In addition, it has advised governments that are directly linked with torture and large-scale repression in such a way that we simply cannot believe that the U.S. Government will respect the democratic model the Sandinists have built. Thus, we must be permanently alert and mobilized. We must say, however, that any attempt to destroy the Sandinist Front would throw the country into a totally disastrous war for

Nicaragua. Nicaraguans—both the Sandinists and the UNO followers—who are the ones who live in this country, the ones who truly feel and suffer the consequences of the economic crisis and the war, have the collective responsibility of defending this democratic model, the Nicaraguan democratic reality, which is the sole guarantee for the definitive end to the armed conflicts.

[Reporter] Thus, there really are objective elements that would make that strange possibility or hybrid of a revolutionary power and a traditional government work?

[Carrion] Democracy is the exercise of a balance in which the various social and political forces have their share of power, whether it is physical, ideological, or political. Everything functions within a framework of legality and respect, as well as by complying with the democratic rules used to solve the disagreements or conflicts that exist in all societies, and more specifically in democratic societies. The main thing is to respect the political rules and the political positions of the various forces. A political balance can save the nation and bring peace back to Nicaragua. We are not saying that people can now use the X, Y, or Z share of power they have in society to violate legal norms or the people's electoral will. We are saying that we must all learn to live within that democratic balance, which is necessary to achieve peace.

[Reporter] Commander, you feel the APP [People's Ownership Sector] should be kept as it is now. You are against the idea of turning it into a cooperative as a way to counter a possible privatization by UNO. What instruments does the Sandinist Front have to guarantee the continuity of the APP in view of UNO's intention?

[Carrion] Being outside the government, we cannot give any legal guarantees for that. We and the workers will struggle to defend the APP's existence from below. Turning the APP into a cooperative is a little like privatizing state property, and we, who have built and defended the People's Ownership Sector, are not going to change our position now. Encouraging the change of state property into cooperatives entails other problems and conflicts, because the workers' interests become divided. Each group's tendency could interfere with the work, and people could lose sight of the objective, which is to defend the national project. In addition, it would be relatively easy for the UNO government to economically strangle these newly formed cooperatives and force them to close through strictly economic channels. This would end in the privatization we are trying to avoid, and the workers would be left alone and separated from the body of the organization defending the APP. We are demanding that the presidents of our enterprises and corporations maintain the order, discipline, and defense of the APP. We are telling them to be alert to those groups that may try to take advantage of the situation and steal resources from the state enterprises. We have held this position and we will continue to hold it. In the future, the APP's defense will be based on the organized political actions of the workers and the people.

[Reporter] There are two arguments that UNO uses to support its privatization plans. One is the alleged inefficiency of the APP, and the other is that the nationalization of the banking system and of foreign trade limits the economy. What do you think of that?

[Carrion] I believe administrative insufficiencies exist both in state and private enterprises. The fact of being either a state or a private enterprise is no guarantee in itself of a better or a worse administrative system. In the APP, we have enterprises that are better managed than most of the private enterprises. We also have state enterprises that have administrative deficiencies, but I do not agree with the criteria that being a state or a private enterprise is enough to determine which is a better or a worse enterprise. State enterprises are always the object of great public attention, while nobody really knows what goes on in the private enterprises.

As for the nationalization of the banking system, there are many capitalist countries, Costa Rica for example, where most of the financial system is nationalized. It was not until recently that Costa Rica gave some opportunities for certain private financial institutions to appear. A nationalized banking system allows the government to invest the country's surplus resources in other sectors of the economy in accordance with the goals of development and social justice. In a private banking system, resources are invested in terms of the profits obtained by the bank owners, who sometimes invest their resources in themselves or in friends, thus promoting an enormous concentration of capital. This becomes a factor that not only prevents workers' development, but also the development of other private enterprises.

Regarding the nationalization of foreign trade, we have national enterprises that commercialize the country's basic export products. This system has allowed Nicaragua to conduct much more favorable deals than the ones conducted before the triumph of the revolution when trade was not nationalized. This system has also allowed us to provide efficient services to small producers, especially coffee producers, many of whom used to fall in the hands of middle men who exploited them mercilessly. In an attempt to introduce a fairer distribution of advantages, our national storage system gives small producers the same opportunities as the large producers. The nationalization of basic product exports has allowed the country to obtain significant financial resources in advance—backed by the sale of its products—which would be very difficult to obtain otherwise. I am convinced that the nationalization of the foreign trade of basic products has been fair, positive, and convenient for Nicaragua.

[Reporter] Will there be any changes in the financial system under the new conditions?

[Carrion] I cannot reply to that question. I imagine that the new government will want to make changes in the financial system.

[Reporter] My question is, how will the FSLN back these changes?

[Carrion] It would be premature to answer that.

[Reporter] Commander Carrion, has the FSLN made any commitments with the elected government to transfer the management of state-owned institutions or enterprises? Is the Sandinist government able to guarantee an orderly transition of national assets?

[Carrion] We have the capacity to effect an orderly transfer of government institutions and state-owned enterprises. The capacity or non-capacity for the transition to be orderly and organized is directly related to the resolutions of the essential problems that we mentioned earlier and that are going to guarantee security and tranquility to all people. If it is not that way, we can foresee that when the date of that transition arrives, the country will be in such an unstable state that it will prevent the orderly handover. I believe that the quicker the issues of the Sandinists' basic guarantees and the security of all Nicaraguans are resolved, the easier it will be to effect an orderly handover of all national assets.

[Reporter] UNO is composed of 14 parties with differing ideological trends. What sort of capacity do they have to negotiate as a homogeneous bloc?

[Carrion] UNO legally ceased to exist at midnight on 25 February, because UNO was a coalition to participate in the elections and once those elections were over, it ceased to exist. What we have are elected persons in posts such as municipalities, the National Assembly, and the Presidency. The government that was elected was Mrs. Chamorro's, and she has the power to decide or negotiate, which is what her appointment as president gives her. We understand that it is with her that the FSLN will have to discuss the affairs that worry them. We know that once in a while there are discordant voices heard in what was the UNO. We know there are sensible people who are seeking the most reasonable way out for the country, and also that there are those who make irresponsible and dangerous statements. We would like to believe that prudence, historic responsibility, and consideration will prevail in that political group, especially among those who hold the highest posts.

[Reporter] If that is so, the extremist sector may become isolated and we would have a joint government of the most reasonable sectors and the FSLN. Would this be possible?

[Carrion] I think the extremist positions must be left isolated. This historical time demands a national consensus on the minimum conditions required to guarantee stability, security, and a peaceful transition in Nicaragua. The FSLN and any other force or political personality ready and willing to place the nation's interests and the people's life above partisan interests or personal ambition can join forces on that.

[Reporter] What do you think of the letter President Bush sent to President Ortega?

[Carrion] The letter is not as important as what the U.S. Government may do in the next few days. Certain contradictions with regard to the demobilization of the contras are worrisome because, on one hand, certain high-ranking U.S. officials have said that the contras must demobilize and, on the other, we have learned that President Bush is going to ask for more funds for the contras. This request for funds would be contrary to the wishes of the incumbent government and those of the government of the president-elect, Mrs. Chamorro, which will assume office on 25 April and has already come out in favor of an immediate demobilization of the contras. So, what actually matters, and what we and the Nicaraguan people will be passing judgment on, is not only words but deeds. The United States must stick to the agreements signed by the Central American presidents. It must not only pay lip service to those agreements—as it has been doing in the past—but comply with its part in them, which is, more concretely, the demobilization of the contras.

Chamorro's Prospects for Governing Discussed

PA1303002090 Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 9 Mar 90 p 2

[Article by Francisco Lacayo B.: "Will Mrs. Chamorro's Government Be Able To Govern Alone?"]

[Text] With Mrs. Chamorro's election victory, Nicaraguans must study our society's real situation. We must foresee the possible consequences of this victory with regard to our society's different social forces. We must foresee a worsening of our economic crisis and social conflicts, and the negative consequences for our long-suffering people. We must also find correct alternatives to channel our creativity and perpetuate our social development, within the democratic framework Nicaraguans started to build on 19 July 1979.

Mrs. Chamorro won the election, and with this victory she has a right to govern. However, she won the election because the counterrevolutionaries' alternative—the attempt to destroy the revolution and its achievements in an armed struggle that would have completely excluded the revolution—failed. This option, chosen by U.S. imperialism, was militarily and politically defeated. Thus, Mrs. Chamorro's victory occurs within the institutional framework established by the revolution, by the Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN].

Apart from the will and wishes of political and business leaders—who are part of the coalition that has led Mrs. Chamorro to government—it is well worth it to ask ourselves what the realities are that she will face as the leader of the government.

First, there are the institutions that will allow her to govern. Our Constitution describes how they work and regulates the steps for changing those institutions.

The Constitution ensures the existence and permanence of the Armed Forces—the Sandinist People's Army and the Interior Ministry. The armed institutions were formed to defend our nationality and our fatherland's sovereignty, and Mrs. Chamorro cannot eliminate them.

Second, there is a correlation of forces that cannot be ignored. Ironically, the coalition that led Mrs. Chamorro to government is just that, a coalition of political parties and businessmen without parties. They have to start by agreeing among themselves how they are going to govern, because they are confronted with the reality of having an executive who represents businessmen and assembly representatives from the coalition's different political parties.

What will the coalition government confront? One party, the FSLN, which holds more than 40 percent of the assembly seats. This fact will not allow the new government to modify the Constitution. Moreover, they will confront a party with 10 years of experience; none of the other parties has this experience.

Third, consider the masses' real power and the FSLN as an opposition that has influenced the masses for the past 10 years. The masses attained benefits that are very difficult, if not impossible, to reverse and that are part of the democratic society defended by those who form Mrs. Chamorro's government.

On the international level, the situation is also complicated. The changes in East European countries demand the presence of Western capital. It is obvious that the countries that ask first and that posses more resources will, in the mid-term, obtain the corresponding credits for their economies.

What we are witnessing, therefore, is a competition among various capitals that want to enter the East European countries. In that context, the United States is at a distinct disadvantage. While a unified Germany represents a commercial surplus of $74 billion and while Japan has a commercial surplus of approximately $77 billion, the United States has a commercial deficit of $138 billion, without ever mentioning the U.S. fiscal deficit, which is also very significant.

Mrs. Chamorro, however, expects the United States to assume responsibility for our country's economic revitalization. Mrs. Chamorro's government hopes to replace the economic relations that the revolution developed with the USSR and the socialist countries with economic relations with the United States and U.S. assistance.

What are the real prospects? One example is enough? Let us look at the Panamanian situation. The Panamanian president—imposed by the United States—is on a hunger strike to demand U.S. economic aid. The United States, however, has not even returned the Panamanian Government funds that the United States unilaterally and arbitrarily froze. The United States is already getting back at Panama for what it spent on its action to overthrow Noriega. To top it all off, U.S. congressmen have already announced that there is no money and that U.S. priorities are elsewhere.

Studying the situations of Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala, and the Andean countries, with their cocaine problem, it is easy to conclude that the famous U.S. aid seems to be a mere illusion.

Can Mrs. Chamorro's government, regardless of the will of her closest assistants, then embark on an out and out pro-U.S. policy? Who will replace the generous Soviet assistance? Who will replace the doctors who were generously sent by the Cuban people and who brought health to the most remote places in our country?

Can Mrs. Chamorro's government ignore the policy of nonalignment that allowed us to establish relations with many countries around the world, an unprecedented action in our country's history?

Is foreign investment the solution? Is the newly elected Nicaraguan government going to throw Nicaragua into the hands of the multinationals? Even worse, will the multinationals be willing to risk their capital despite the correlation of forces we described earlier? Our current social and political instability could endanger any possible source of profit, the sole reason capital is moved.

Which economic model will the new administration use to get us out of the crisis? The Sandinist Front established a mixed economy system as a model for economic development of Nicaraguan society and has used it since the revolution was established. A mixed economy is the coexistence of productive state property, the private sector, and the cooperative system.

The correlation among these sectors changed over the 10 years of the revolutionary government in terms of the demands that the counterrevolutionaries imposed on the country. We can assure, however, that during the past few years, the existing correlation gradually developed and stabilized.

The COSEP [Higher Council of Private Enterprise] businessmen have always claimed that the Sandinist Front's economic model was heading toward total nationalization of property, centralized planning of the economy, and, therefore, the extermination of the private sector. In their opinion, economically speaking, the politicians who will be part of Mrs. Chamorro's government contrast their proposals with the nationalization and centralized economic planning attributed to the Sandinist Front.

The reality of the mixed economy, however, is undeniable—so much so that after 10 years of revolution, there is still a COSEP and there are still businessmen who are now fighting for government posts with representatives

of the UNO [National Opposition Union] member parties. Thus, the model to which UNO should contrast itself is the Sandinist Front's mixed economy system.

Can the new government's total economic reprivatization program resolve the problems brought about by the economic crisis? Can it ignore the importance of bank and foreign trade nationalization or the importance of state-owned firms in our national production? Or, can it, perhaps, ignore the true advantages of centralized management in the export of products such as gold, cotton, coffee, meat, seafood, etc. for an economy as insignificant as ours in the international market?

Even from a capitalist point of view, we are experiencing an enormous concentration and centralization of capital in the international sphere, and Nicaragua's economic importance in this field cannot be compared to even a tenth of one of the medium-sized multinational corporations. It is evident that microcapitalism, represented by the Nicaraguan business class, does not attract any foreign capital to invest or give us credit.

What would the market strength of a Nicaraguan capitalist be to negotiate in the international market? What is the importance of a single businessman in the international market, selling his cotton or coffee? In addition, what is the chance that a serious investor or government, interested in getting the considerable investment required by the country, will find an individual counterpart in the international sphere?

What financial organization would be willing to finance the millions we require when it has not been able to recoup its loans or repossess merchandise as payment? Does Ramiro Gurdian not recall that, despite being the owner of the Candelaria banana plant, he was nothing but a simple manager? Does he not recall that management was controlled by the Standard Fruit Company and that his boss was the U.S. citizen Susane [not further identified]? Who but centralized financial and technical management could ensure that Standard would receive stable production and quality produce from the different banana farms?

It is doubtful that the announced return to microcapitalism will be the magic wand that will resolve all our economic and development problems. It is clear that on an international level, all of Nicaragua is nothing more than a small firm, and that only by entering it as a nation—that is, with the nationalization of its basic economic instruments—can we negotiate investments and credit conditions of the magnitude required by Nicaragua with international capital.

The challenge has been presented. It appears that the reconciliation process initiated by the FSLN will become a "sine qua non" condition to govern and to keep the electoral promises for peace, reconciliation, and development. The new government will have to reach agreement with the FSLN, and all reconciliation requires respect and mutual concessions. The new administration cannot, independently of the wishes of its leaders, ignore 10 years of revolution and benefits for the people. It cannot ignore the revolutionary institutionalization or the people's organization.

If it does, it will attempt to govern against a strong, united, and decided opposition. To do so means to choose the road to chaos, increased economic ruin, and even what no one wants—war. War means sacrificing our people and condemning them to our country's total collapse.

That is why the future government cannot govern...alone.

Bank Urges Employees To Demand Social Benefits

PA1203122990 Managua LA PRENSA in Spanish 9 Mar 90 pp 1, 12

[Text] Luis Angel Montenegro, executive director of the National Development Bank, told a group of Nicaraguan bank employees who held a meeting at Las Mercedes Hotel on 3 March that personal loans and loans for building houses, as well as biannual bonus payments corresponding to a month of work, would be granted immediately to all bank employees.

This information was furnished by Hernaldo Zuniga, a National Opposition Union [UNO] legal representative, who stated that he obtained the information from a manager of one of the National Development Bank branches in Region IV. This manager attended the meeting held by the secretaries of all the National Development Bank unions and the bank branch managers throughout the country.

In that meeting Montenegro talked about transferring the bank's social centers [casas de protocolo] and registering them under employees' names. He ordered bank department chiefs to hire doctors to provide medical care to all of the bank employees of each jurisdiction in each department.

Citing statements by the manager of one of the bank branches in Region IV, Zuniga said that the bank employees have longed for those social benefits, but that "at present the new government and we, the workers, know very well that this country lacks the necessary economic conditions to grant these social benefits in the short term."

"I believe this is a clear boycott against the new government that was democratically elected in this country," Zuniga continued, citing the Region IV branch manager who attended the meeting at Las Mercedes Hotel.

During the meeting, Luis Angel Montenegro said that all bank employees should protect all of the bank's goods to reassert the honesty of all the bank employees to the new government.

Like the National Development Bank, other enterprises are holding meetings to urge workers to make unreasonable wage demands and to request benefits that cannot be granted in the first few months after the inauguration of the new government.

According to the Sandinists' intentions, these calls and demands will destabilize and make things difficult for the new UNO government, which will receive the productive and administrative apparatus in bankruptcy as a result of the negligent administration of the last 10 years of government.

Panama

Mexico Grants Asylum to State Bank's Manager

PA1303041590 Panama City Telemetro Television in Spanish 2300 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] The Mexican Government has granted political asylum to Rafael Arosemena, former manager of the Banco Nacional de Panama, the Mexican Foreign Relations Secretariat reported today.

The Mexican authorities emphasized that the asylum has been granted with strict adherence to international conventions and said that they expect to soon receive a safe-conduct allowing Arosemana to leave Panama. The asylum was granted two days after prosecutors Cecilia de Martinz and Jose Pio Castillero told the press that Arosemena may be involved in the case of embezzlement of Banco Nacional funds. According to the Caracas Convention this may be an impediment for Arosemena to be considered a victim of political persecution.

Linares Views Safe-Conducts, Cuba, Canal Treaty

PA1203230690 Panama City Radio KW Continente in Spanish 1240 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Interview with Foreign Minister Julio Linares during "The Word" political commentary and interview program hosted by Omaira "Mayin" Correa and Ramon Jimenez Velez in Panama City—live]

[Excerpts] [Correa] The most important news in today's newspapers is that while the last general manager of the National Bank during the Noriega regime, Rafael Arosemena—who is charged by the current authorities with embezzlement—has sought refuge in the Mexican Embassy, the former minister in charge of the Presidency, Manuel Solis Palma, has left the Venezuelan Embassy where he had taken refuge and his whereabouts are unknown.

Mr. Foreign Minister Julio Linares, the telephones in our studios have been ringing all morning because the people cannot understand all this. The widows of the men who were murdered by some military officers cannot understand this either. They cannot understand how the embassies in our country are allowing people charged with common crimes to take refuge as if they were political prisoners—excuse me—I mean as if they were being politically persecuted. Mr. Linares, please explain why this is happening in Panama.

[Linares] Good morning, Mayin. Good morning, Ramon. I appreciate your invitation to explain the situation regarding those who have taken political asylum at the various embassies. I want to state that I am at your service to discuss this topic as best I can. However, I think it is necessary to point out several general things to explain the problem before we talk about individual cases.

I am willing to discuss each individual case because, unfortunately, in this country there is a lack of knowledge about diplomatic asylum. There is much confusion, and there is much disinformation. These situations have resulted in some people thinking, for example, that it is up to the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Panama to decide whether or not to grant safe-conducts.

Many people also think that there are serious charges against those who have been granted safe-conducts and that the Foreign Ministry and the National Government have been generous or irresponsible—or even cowards, if you will—and have been giving away safe-conducts, as if we were in complicity with those who have taken refuge at those embassies, or that the ministry I head has been acting in a unilateral manner.

It has also been said that the Foreign Ministry exempted Mrs. Noriega and her family from all taxes when they left Panama and that they took approximately 80 suitcases and so forth. There are a lot of rumors and wild tales going around to this effect.

In the first place, let us explain what the right to asylum is. It is protection granted by the international public law of the Americas, basically for those who are being politically persecuted. I am saying basically for those who are being politically persecuted because there could also be the case of crimes that are called complex or related [complejos o conexos] crimes—to which I will refer later—that grant these persons the right to seek refuge in a diplomatic office. They are then immediately under the international protection of that embassy in such a manner that if the respective embassy grants them asylum, these persons can then travel abroad.

In summary, this is the right of asylum. It is granted basically to those who are being politically persecuted or to politicians, because there are some crimes known as complex or related crimes. What are these complex or related crimes? They are common crimes committed for political purposes. So then, it becomes difficult to determine if these are political or common crimes, in, for example, a case of arson.

[Jimenez] Or a murder.

[Linares] Correct—a murder for political purposes. There can also be the case of crimes that, because of special circumstances, become political crimes due to the

personality of the individual. For example, to determine the situation in complex or related crimes, different criteria have been followed. One was that the treaties of asylum listed the various types of crimes. However, there was a problem with this system. Over time, new crimes were committed, and those crimes were excluded. A new formula was then adopted: A minimum number of years in prison that normally fluctuated between one and two years. Normally, less than two years in prison is considered for a minor crime, more than two years for a serious crime. But then we faced another problem because when we speak of asylum, we are always considering two countries: The territorial country, that is, the country where the embassy is located, and the country represented by that diplomatic mission.

[Jimenez] That is, the country where the person is under asylum.

[Linares] Yes, where the person is under asylum. So, we were faced with a situation where a certain crime—for example, homicide—in one country is punished with 10 years in prison while in another country it is punished with 15 or 20 years in prison.

[Correa] Dr. Linares, who determines what...

[Linares, interrupting] Correct, so to prevent that...

[Correa, interrupting] The host country or the embassy?

[Linares, interrupting] To prevent those situations, it has been established that the country granting the asylum—that is, the country of the embassy where the person is—is the one that determines the crime. That is a fact, that is established in Article 4 of the Caracas Convention. I am mentioning the Caracas Convention because that is the agreement that regulates our relations with the states that have granted asylum to these persons. Article 4 reads as follows: It is up to the state granting the asylum to determine the nature of the crime or the motives of the persecution.

Now then, we are first talking about the doctrinal aspect of the issue, to understand the various cases. We must also take into consideration that the right to asylum is a right granted not to the territorial country—in this case, not to Panama—but the right to asylum is granted to the country where the persons have taken asylum, that is the diplomatic mission.

It is the diplomatic mission that grants the asylum and not Panama. It is the diplomatic mission that determines the crime, and, to conclude, it is the diplomatic mission that can demand from the territorial country that the safe-conduct be delivered.

[Jimenez] In other words, the determination of the crime, and the granting of asylum is up to the country that is being asked to grant the asylum request.

[Linares] That is correct.

[Jimenez] The territorial country—in this case, Panama—could only grant or deny the safe-conduct, is that right?

[Linares] From a conceptual, doctrinal point of view, the territorial country would always have to grant the asylum provided the other country demands it. That is a fact. Panama would have to grant the asylum anytime the other countries granting the asylum, that is, the embassy of Peru, the embassy of Mexico, the embassy of Cuba, whatever embassy demands it. That is clearly established by the Caracas Convention.

[Jimenez] In other words...

[Correa, interrupting] Dr. Linares, this is very dangerous, right?

[Linares] Panama has no choice on whether or not to grant asylum.

[Jimenez] It has to accept it, at any rate.

[Linares] We would have to accept it. Now, let us continue this discussion. Evidently, if a country—and in this case Panama—sees that there is something that is totally absurd, and if it is clear that the country granting the asylum is not granting it for a just reason, that is, if it is a matter of a common crime, such as a murder case, that the other country wants to solve.... [changes thought] If it is a political crime, then in such a case, any responsible country has a right to insist that such a crime be considered a political crime.

However, this has to be the case when it is a very serious crime, a very important crime. The fact that the territorial country is opposed to the determination made by the host country immediately leads to an international dispute.

The country represented in the diplomatic mission is going to insist on its right to determine the crime, its right to demand the safe-conducts be granted. So, if we are going to oppose this, if we are going to insist and cause an international incident, then one has to do it based on reason and moral authority. Otherwise, one would be ridiculed on the international level, and it would appear that there was a desire to persecute, a desire to suppress, and that is not what the Panamanian Government wants.

I believe you agree with this. The issue of asylum has led to very serious situations. For example, the case in Peru of Raul Haya de la Torre, who was under asylum at the Colombian Embassy from 1949 to 1954, because Peru did not grant the safe-conduct, and Colombia—the country granting the asylum—was demanding the safe-conduct.

[Jimenez] This was taken to the International Court of Justice [ICJ] at The Hague?

[Linares] It was taken twice to the ICJ, three rulings were issued, and Haya de la Torre was under asylum five

years, three months, and four days. The longest recorded case of asylum is the case of the Cardinal Primate of Hungary, Josef Mindszenty, who was under asylum at the U.S. Embassy from 1956 to 1971. In other words, his asylum lasted 24 years, nine months, and 26 days. Therefore, the international problems that arise regarding the asylum issue are not simple. One has to be very careful.

[Correa] Let me ask you a question: First of all, is it possible that this asylum issue is being affected by the fact that many countries have not yet recognized the new Panamanian Government? In addition, there are many differences between the Panamanian and the Cuban Governments in terms of what constitutes a crime.

For example, the Cuban revolutionaries believe that to kill in defense of so-called Panamanian sovereignty is a heroic action. The [Dignity] Battalions were considered the defenders of our sovereignty and our nationality, and they were anti-imperialists and so forth. The Cubans do not think these people were committing murders. In addition, they believe that Noriega defended sovereignty and had to kill [Major Moises] Giroldi and the others who were going to keep the nationalist leader from continuing his nationalistic struggle.

Therefore, the murderers of Giroldi, for example, are not considered assassins by the Cubans, who feel they did not commit any crimes—instead, they are considered anti-imperialist revolutionaries. They consider the Dignity Battalion members to be revolutionaries.

There are too many differences between our government and the Cuban Government, as in the case of determining whether a crime has been commited. The fact we are not recognized yet as a democratic government is like making us walk a tightrope, and, therefore, we have to yield to the requests of these governments that are pressuring us with recognition.

[Linares] Mayin, I would say that we do not have to condition the decision of the Foreign Ministry or the government on the circumstances you are mentioning. There is no reason for setting conditions. On the other hand, we must undoubtedly take them into consideration. It would be irresponsible not to consider them. If at this time—just to give you an example—we had normal diplomatic relations with all South American countries, if instead of people seeking asylum at only one embassy—pardon me—I mean if instead of people seeking asylum at three or four embassies, there were asylum seekers at only one embassy, evidently the situation would be much easier for us. In this manner, any controversy would be accepted, or at least the international community would be more understanding if it had normal relations with us and with the country granting asylum.

It is also more difficult to open fire—if you will—on three or four countries than to open fire on a single country. So, those are factors one has to take into consideration. Evidently, the time comes when these factors have to yield in the face of realities, when it is a matter of an atrocious and cruel crime. No matter how many more considerations there could be in addition to those we have just mentioned, one has to act according to justice and morals.

However, one cannot act without reason under the present circumstances, without even filing any charges. I would like to discuss this, because it has been said that we have issued safe-conducts in a capricious or carefree manner to persons who are being persecuted for common crimes. I want to refer to the status of each one of them, so it will be understood. Evidently, there are some things that must be managed with certain reservations. However, I want to conduct the ministry in an aboveboard fashion by facing the people, facing public opinion. The people must know why things are being done, or why they are not being done.

Mayin and Ramon, some have the erroneous impression that the Foreign Ministry acted in a unilateral manner. In the first place, it must be taken into consideration that it is not the responsibility of the Foreign Ministry to investigate the crimes. It does not have the responsibility of investigating criminals. That is a function of the Attorney General's Office. It is not the responsibility of the Foreign Ministry to judge the persons who have committed crimes. That function is the responsibility of the judicial branch.

When the Foreign Ministry receives a request for asylum, at that time, it becomes a sort of mediator, a coordinator that has some decision-making abilities—but to reach a decision, it has to take into consideration several things. What is the crime that the Attorney General's Office has charged this person with? Why is this person being tried by the judicial branch?

[Jimenez] One question on this, Mr. Foreign Minister. You said that the Foreign Ministry asks the Attorney General's Office for a report on the person requesting asylum. Does the Attorney General's Office prepare a technical report on this person or just give an idea of how this particular person should be treated?

[Linares] Bear in mind that the Attorney General's Office works independent of the executive branch. I will not try to evade my responsibility, so I must say that the final decision rests with the executive branch through the Foreign Ministry. I will not evade my responsibility. The reason for this is very simple. If the foreign minister does not agree, he will not sign the safe-conduct. It is the foreign minister who must sign the safe-conduct, so the final decision rests with him. I am not avoiding my responsibility.

Regarding your question, the Attorney General's Office could express an opinion, although it does not have to. It can limit itself to saying that the individual in question is being processed for such and such crimes, without expressing the ministry's opinion. For instance, the Attorney General's Office did not express an opinion in

writing regarding the persons who were given safe-conducts recently. The ministry only described the crimes under investigation.

As I told you, I receive the requests for asylum and transfer them to the Government and Justice Ministry. Why? Because the Government and Justice Ministry is the liaison between the executive branch and the Attorney General's Office. So the Government and Justice Ministry has something to say, too. What this ministry has to say, however, is not as essential as what the foreign minister has to say, because the final decision does not rest with the government and justice minister either. He does have something to say about it, however. Lately, there have been a number of cases of people requesting asylum. In the past four or five cases, to speed things up, I sent a letter to the minister of government and justice and the attorney general at the same time. This is done to save time. Otherwise, an entire week would be lost by writing to the justice minister, who will then send the letter to the Attorney General. This would be the regular channel. [passage omitted]

I must say that there were no arrest warrants against any of those who received safe-conducts from the Foreign Ministry. They could have been as bad as Barabbas.

[Correa] Not even against former National Bank Manager Rafael Arosemena?

[Linares] Wait a minute. I am only referring to those who have already left the country. I am referring to Lopez Tirone, [Noriega's personal secretary Marcella] Tason, and all of them. There were no arrest warrants for them. So, my question is: How can I deny them safe-conducts if they can move freely because there are no arrest warrants against them? They can freely board an Eastern Airlines plane and leave through Tocumen Airport.

[Jimenez] No one could stop them?

[Linares] No one could stop them. Therefore, all this criticism is groundless. There were no arrest warrants against any of these people. In fact, the Noriega family—it is not said here—requested that bond be set for them so they would not be arrested.

[Correa] What were the charges against them?

[Linares] Let us continue. Felicidad Sieiro de Noriega, Lorena and Thais Noriega Sieiro, and Sandra de Beauchamps; these people have been accused—and I am reading the text of the report from the Attorney General's Office—of using things achieved through criminal actions and concealment.

The accusation, which was presented by Attorney Rafael Reli Sierra, is under investigation at the Fifth Municipal Solicitorship.

[Jimenez] In other words, they are accused of enjoying the fruits of crime.

[Linares] Of crime and complicity. I can go so far as to say that in response to this accusation, they can cite—this is their right and I do not want to get involved in the affairs of the Attorney General's Office—an article of the Constitution that the attorney general himself quoted to me. Article 25 of the Constitution states: No one is under any obligation to testify in criminal, correctional, or police actions against himself, his spouse, or relatives within the fourth degree of consanguinity, or second degree of affinity.

[Jimenez] This means that they cannot testify against Gen. Noriega?

[Linares] They are not obliged to testify against Gen. Noriega because one of them is his wife and the others are his daughters. Continuing with the penal code, the attorney general also quoted Article 364, which states: These actions will be punished with prison sentences of one to two years.

[Jimenez] Again we fall within the two year sentence.

[Linares] Again we fall within the two year sentences, and a $1 per day fine for anywhere between 25 and 100 days. I must explain, so no one can say that I am making statements that are not factual, that the Caracas Convention does not mention two years. It does not even list the crimes. I am talking about two years as a criterion that was used in the past, but this criterion has been eliminated. It was replaced in the Caracas Convention because the country granting asylum is the one that decides.

[Jimenez] Does this make the decision independent of...

[Linares, interrupting] This criteria serve as a yardstick to determine if our Foreign Ministry is acting according to well-known international practices.

[Jimenez] Mr. Minister, I have a question about this. Generally speaking... [changes thought] Is it a diplomatic tradition to take these standards into account?

[Linares] Yes, evidently. These standards are evidently taken into account for classification purposes.

[Correa] Please, let us delve a bit on Mrs. Noriega's case. One of the Noriega daughters appears charged with...

[Linares, interrupting] Yes, let us go on with this.

[Correa] Do you have them there one by one—wife, daughter...

[Linares, interrupting] What I just read applies generically to the four of them. Now then, the Fourth Municipal Court of the District of Panama decided to grant bail to the accused persons. Therefore, the release has to be carried out. However, the counsel for the defense appealed the resolution and for that reason the record of the case is at the Second Circuit Court for a ruling. Another investigation is being carried out with regard to Lorena Noriega for the crime of corrupting officials,

which was initiated at the Attorney General's Office. In this case, the accused has asked for the benefit of freedom on bail [libertad caucionada].

In a conversation with Foreign Ministry officials I asked—because they kept talking to me about the corruption of officials—what corruption of officials means. They said it means she had been receiving money from a sinecure.

[Jimenez] Was she on the Attorney General's Office payroll?

[Correa] Half of the PRD members will have to be taken into custody...

[Linares] If things were that way, half of the PRD members would not be able to leave the country. I truly believe that our country would have looked foolish before the rest of the world if we had denied them the safe-conducts. Our country must show respect and act with great moral authority, especially now.

[Correa] I want to ask you something else. I know you have explained this and I understood what you said...

[Linares, interrupting] But let us discuss each of the crimes of which they have been accussed...

[Correa] No, but we are talking about Mrs. Noriega. Wait a minute. I want to ask you something that does not exactly fall into your jurisdiction. But I know you are a lawyer and you are involved in this whole process. Mrs. Noriega's official bank accounts at the Bank of Credit and Commerce and at banks in Luxembourg, I have copies here proving the existence of those accounts, which exceed millions and millions of dollars. If I have copies of documents verifying the existence of those accounts, the Panamanian Government must have them too, for God's sake. Why not? Our government is responsible for investigating these things, and especially Mrs. Noriega's case because she was the person who was closest to the dictator. All of these things should have been investigated.

My question is, and I know you will say this is not in your jurisdiction and that it falls upon the judicial branch, we know that, but my question is, and I have to say it here: why did the Attorney General's Office, the corresponding judicial authority, or the tribunal that was installed to recover state property, fail to conduct an in-depth investigation into the origin of that money before the judicial authorities gave you the reports that you have presented here? I am not making up the amount of money that they had. I have documents here proving the existence of Mrs. Noriega's bank accounts.

Many people have these documents. When I was in exile, all of these documents were sent using the fax. Noriega's banker released these documents. These documents are kept at the prosecutor's office in Miami and at the U.S. Senate. Our government should conduct an in-depth investigation.

Our country needs a lot of money and I know that Mrs. Noriega did not make $14 million at her job as head of Asefude [Panama Defense Forces Wives Association]. That money belonged to her husband. He transfered money from his bank accounts and opened new ones under his children's names.

Our government is talking about recovering state property. It even created a tribunal to recover that property. Thus, Mrs. Noriega cannot leave this country until the judicial branch verifies the origin of money that she and her daughters have. [as heard] That is what bothers us. And there we have President Endara dying of hunger because there is no money, and then we see these newspapers, it upsets me just to look at these papers, proving that these women have millions and millions and millions of dollars while President Endara is dying of hunger because the country has no money. [passage omitted]

[Linares] I really like your question, although I think that this topic will lead us.... [changes thought] I do not want to go into that now during this appearance, and I may come back if you want me to, as I have been here on other occasions...

[Correa, interrupting] Whenever you like, Mr. Minister. I know that you have your duties, and you are very careful about acting within the boundaries of your duties. However, if I get a note from the attorney general stating that there is nothing against General Noriega, I seems to me the foreign minister should tell the general attorney to dig deeper, even if that takes three more days.

[Linares] That is where we are heading. We are heading in that direction...

[Correa, interrupting] Or some more months.

[Linares] This is...

[Correa, interrupting] These things are delicate.

[Linares] I am headed in that direction. You do not have the slightest idea. The people who criticize the Foreign Ministry are not aware of the struggles and problems the Foreign Ministry has to deal with. That is why I say we can discuss this topic further because it has many aspects to it. Let me briefly say this. It is clear that the directorate to recover state properties that was created by the Comptroller General's Office will perform a positive role in recovering these goods. This directorate is established now, and its magistrates were recently appointed.

What happened in Panama? And I must say that many Latin American countries do not understand Panama. They do not understand Panama because these states know perfectly well we just came out of a 21-year-old dictatorship. And not only that. During that dictatorship, the judicial branch and the Attorney General's Office were totally subservient to the garrisons. It was possible to steal, kill, do anything, and yet no prosecutor or attorney general would begin an investigation. On the

contrary, the attorney general became an accomplice in these crimes, or an accessory after the fact.

Returning to the Caracas Convention, we found that Article Three reads, and this answers your question: It is not legal to grant asylum to those persons who at the time of making their request for asylum are accused of or being tried before the appropriate courts for common crimes. Let us turn this around, and this is what in legal terms is known as a reverse interpretation. It is legal to grant asylum to persons who, at the time of making their request for asylum, are not being tried for common crimes. Based on talks I have held with several foreign diplomatic representatives, they want to give a very narrow interpretation to this guideline. [passage omitted]

[Linares] As for the case of Manuel Solis Palma, the former minister in charge of the Presidency, the Foreign Ministry has not even reviewed his case.

[Correa] Did the Venezuelan Embassy not inform you?

[Linares] The Venezuelan Embassy never advised us of his presence there. He left that mission the same way he entered it. Officially for the Foreign Ministry, it is as if he had never been there. The Venezuela Embassy never told us anything. Moreover, the Foreign Ministry had no desire to pressure the Venezuelan Government to inform us about this. We had more important things to deal with than Mr. Solis Palma's stay there. In the end, the only ones hurt by that were Mr. Solis Palma and the embassy. However, the Foreign Ministry never handled this matter. If Mr. Solis Palma can move freely about Panama's streets, it is because the Attorney General's Office is not conducting an investigation of him. Officially for the Foreign Ministry, this case never reached it, and did not have to either.

[Correa] What other persons are officially staying at the embassies? Have you been told: Mr. Minister, we have so and so...?

[Linares] We insisted that diplomatic asylum should not be granted to four persons: Luis Gomez, Major Heraclides Sucre, Major Asuncion Eliecer Gaitan, and Major Gonzalo Gonzalez. These four men, chiefly the last three, are implicated in murder cases. No matter how the concept is stretched, regardless of the efforts to interpret the Caracas Convention at will, there is something that defines diplomatic asylum. It must be used to protect politically persecuted persons. In no instance can it be used as an instrument to avoid punishment. It is used as an instrument or means to avoid punishment when this fundamental principle is ignored through subterfuge or legal tricks to grant asylum to persons who, for the most part, have been accused of murdering—and not just one, but several persons.

The Foreign Ministry will insist that those persons not be granted a safe-conduct. The Foreign Ministry may adopt a firm and strong attitude toward a foreign country when it knows that justice, reason, and morality are on our side. We cannot adopt that attitude if we realize that justice, reason, and morality are not on our side, because the evidence to support the charges, like the ones we just mentioned, are very weak. [passage omitted]

[Correa] Supposing the attorney general now investigates Mrs. Noriega's wealth and indicts her. Can we ask the Dominican Republic to extradite her?

[Linares] Yes. One thing should be known. Granting a safe-conduct does not mean we are absolving someone of crimes, or that this is a kind of amnesty or pardon. The legal proceedings continue. Safe-conducts just let someone leave the country, but the legal proceedings continue. If tomorrow there are causes to ask for the extradition of a person, based on one investigation or another, the government, through the Foreign Ministry, will have to request the extradition. It should be clear that a safe-conduct is not a pardon for wrongdoings or anything of the sort.

[Correa] I think that Mrs. Noriega is staying in Cuba because that country does not care about any request that you can make. Cuba is a dictatorship that does what it pleases. You can say: Return Mrs. Noriega to us. And Fidel Castro can say: I do not feel like it, that is your problem. And so he keeps Mrs. Noriega there.

[Jimenez] Is a country compelled to hand over a person whose extradition is requested?

[Linares] We must distinguish between states that have extradition treaties and those that do not. We are determining the countries with which we have extradition treaties. A state with which we have signed an extradition treaty must hand over the person who is being sought. States with which we do not have extradition treaties have no obligation to hand over this person. Handing the person over is within the purview of that state. There is an obligation when there is an extradition treaty.

[Correa] How many countries have already established relations with Panama?

[Linares] I will be hard put to give a figure.

[Correa] I mean from Latin America, as all European countries have relations with Panama, right?

[Linares] Almost all European and Asian countries, as well as almost all of the EEC in general.

[Correa] How many Latin American countries have not?

[Linares] As for Latin America and Central America, Nicaragua does not. As for South America, Venezuela and Colombia—Colombia says that they maintain relations with us but are not sending their ambassador. The rest of the South American countries are isolating us.

[Jimenez] This situation means that there is simply a trade relationship, but no relations at the diplomatic level.

[Linares] One can have consuls, consular relations, and yet no diplomatic relations with a country. That is permissible.

[Correa] With regard to Cuba, why does Panama not apply the Estrada Doctrine that Mexico uses so much, that is, not establish diplomatic relations with any government that has not been democratically elected, so as not to have to break relations with Fidel Castro?

[Linares] No, no, that is not it.

[Correa] Is that not it?

[Linares] No, no.

[Correa] There is one that establishes that the governments should not...

[Jimenez, interrupting] The Estrada Doctrine is just the opposite. According to the Estrada Doctrine, relations are maintained with states, not governments.

[Correa] But it means that it is applied to have the freedom not to have...[changes thought] rather to have relations with dictatorships.

[Jimenez] Yes, to have relations with dictatorships.

[Correa] It is just the opposite.

[Linares] The doctrine that can be applied is the Betancourt Doctrine.

[Jimenez] It was named after former President Romulo Betancourt of Venezuela, is that not right?

[Correa] Are we going to continue having relations with Cuba, Mr. Minister?

[Linares] That will depend on the circumstances.

[Correa] How many officials are there at the Cuban Embassy in Panama at this time?

[Linares] I could not tell you right now.

[Correa] But have some of them left?

[Linares] Yes, they have.

[Correa] This means less than...[changes thought] fewer spies.

[Linares] Yes, there are fewer officials, but I could not tell you how many right now. The number depends on certain circumstances.

[Correa] What about our relations with Nicaragua?

[Linares] Since Mrs. Chamorro won the elections, I think it would be senseless for us to break relations with Nicaragua now.

[Correa] No, no, I mean we should maintain them, of course.

[Linares] On the contrary, we should increase them.

[Correa] Of course.

[Linares] We must give Nicaragua our biggest support.

[Correa] Has there been any news from Mrs. Chamorro that she is going to recognize our democratic government?

[Linares] Not at the Foreign Ministry level.

[Correa] But it is expected, right?

[Linares] We hope.

[Correa] In Miami, there is much concern over Panama's stand to maintain diplomatic relations with Cuba. Cuba has a government that is truly responsible for training Dignity Battalion members and for actions against Panama's economy. It is a known fact that the U.S. Government and the U.S. Army detained several dozen or so Cuban agents who were training Dignity Battalion members. These Cubans taught them to use the Soviet weapons that were used in the looting of the city and the disaster it experienced. Cuba truly maintained the international aid to the Panamanian dictatorship through more than 200 lobbying firms throughout the world. These firms tried to give a pseudo-nationalist image to the narco-military dictatorship of Panama. Cuba backed Noriega throughout all his repression and all the disgrace Panamanians had to experience. Cubans are disappointed because they thought Panama was going to adopt a prouder attitude or stronger stand against the government that hurt us so much: the Castro Government.

It has even been mentioned that since the invasion Colon Free Zone officials have gone to Cuba for commercial reasons. Some radio station even mentioned the name of an official who traveled there.

Are we going to continue relations with Cuba at the same level as the previous regime?

[Linares] No, definitely not. Just as I told you at the beginning of this program, I will maintain the policy, as much as possible, of making public the actions of the Foreign Ministry. In other words, we will maintain an open-door policy.

However, I have to warn you that, in regard to Cuba's specific case, I must make certain reservations. It would be careless of me to state the guidelines that the Foreign Ministry is following. But I can tell you—and we do not have to have any reservations about this—that Cuba should not continue to believe that it can use international forums to ignore our government or to say that we are an illegitimate government or a U.S. puppet. I would tell the Cuban Government, particularly Fidel Castro, that President Endara is more legitimate than he is, because President Endara won by a landslide, 70 percent of the popular vote. However, Castro has never subjected his name to any elections. He imposed himself by force and continues in power by force.

We will not permit the use of international forums to insult our government.

[Correa] This is what Cuba is doing right now.

[Jimenez] I have a question about that. Regarding Cuba, it has been said many times that our country—perhaps the Foreign and Government Ministries, as well as other institutions that establish policies in Panama—are being pressured by the U.S. Government into taking certain actions. It was even said that some actions by the Panamanian Government were taken under the influence of the U.S. Government. What can you tell us about this?

[Linares] That is completely false. In the time that I have been heading the Foreign Ministry, it has become evident that the Foreign Ministry acts independently. Moreover, on a number of occasions, U.S. Government officials have made a series of statements, especially in matters regarding the canal treaties, that I have considered to be false and mistaken, and to which I have firmly responded with the position of the Panamanian Government.

Therefore, I do not think you can mention a single case in which the Foreign Ministry or the Panamanian Government has acted according to the viewpoints or policies of the United States. We evidently agree on many issues. However, we are not going to adopt the foolish policy adopted by many countries, which reject anything coming from the United States. It is like a phobia...

[Correa, interrupting] It is a complex.

[Linares] It is an anti-Yankee complex, but on the other hand they reach out for all kinds of aid. If our policies coincide—and we hope they do—we will be very good allies. That does not mean...

[Correa, interrupting] For example, Mr. Linares, how did Panama vote in Geneva on the issue of human rights violations in Cuba, where they are certainly violated? Was Panama in agreement with the United States or not?

[Linares] Panama agreed with the U.S. position.

[Correa] Yes, for the first time in 21 years. In the past, Panamanian representatives did not vote in favor of the United States because they said: We are not U.S. lackeys. I believe that is a complex.

[Linares] I once said the following: I would like Panama's policy to be respected because it is based on norms of conduct and international morals. If the United States or any other country follows these principles of international morals, we will concur; otherwise there will have to be discrepancies.

[Correa] We will have no complex in concurring with the United States.

[Linares] No, we are not going to have any complexes in concurring with them, and I believe no Latin American or Panamanian leader can say he is more nationalist than those who are now running the government.

[Jimenez] Foreign Minister, you briefly mentioned...

[Correa, interrupting] The foreign minister's time will be up in a minute, so hurry up. [laughs]

[Jimenez] There have been some minor controversies regarding certain interpretations of the canal treaties. You have a book out on this matter. You hold a very firm and well-known position regarding the canal treaties, and this position does not completely agree with the U.S. position. Do you think this could lead to a conflict in the ways the treaties are interpreted at some time?

[Linares] No, I don't think so. I will tell you why. The fundamental discrepancy that I have with the U.S. position—and I can publicly say it, because it is no secret since I published a book on the matter—is the treaty concerning the permanent neutrality of the Panama Canal. I believe this treaty does not benefit Panama. Why? Because the permanent neutrality that is established in that treaty did not have, as an objective, the neutralization of the canal per se. It was highly influenced by U.S. commercial and security interests. That is the position I have maintained. I do not believe that when one is a private individual one should have one position, and when one is in government one must have another. Otherwise, we would not be sincere with ourselves. That is a clear and well-defined position.

But when should Panama make the decision to change the treaties? I have said that Panama should not take the initiative to change the treaties now or any time before the year 2000. The reason is very simple. Even though the treaty is already in effect, it will be in force in a more vigorous manner after the year 2000, when the neutrality treaty is no longer in effect.

If we insist on modifying or repealing the treaty now, we would open the door for the United States to also try to change the Panama Canal Treaties. Any steps aimed at changing the neutrality treaty can open up the possibility for them to attempt to modify the Panama Canal Treaties, even in matters such as the expiration date.

I believe that the best thing Panama can do is to allow the Panama Canal Treaties to expire on 31 December 1999. Once the canal treaties have expired and once the canal installations have reverted to Panama, we can begin taking the diplomatic steps to modify or to repeal the neutrality treaty.

Panamenist President Discusses U.S. Invasion

FL1003040090 Havana Tele Rebelde Network in Spanish 1253 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Interview with Luis "Toty" Suarez, president of the Revolutionary Panamenist Party, by unidentified reporter; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] We would like to ask you a three-part question. We would like you to explain what happened, what is happening, and what will happen in Panama?

[Suarez] We saw the invasion of Panama coming. However, it was launched at night, with premeditation, and maliciousness. On the first hour of 20 December they came in mercilessly. They totally destroyed the Chorrillo neighborhood. I have some newspaper clippings of Chorrillo under fire. Chorrillo neighborhood is the poorest neighborhood adjacent to the former Fourth of July Avenue, now Avenue of the Martyrs. It is a matter of crossing the street in a minute. They came in mercilessly, destroyed the Chorrillo neighborhood, set a fire that completely destroyed everything there. Many died there. They then attacked the Panama Defense Forces main headquarters.

Chorrillo disappeared. An outrageous feat, not seen during the invasions of the Dominican Republic in 1965 or in Grenada in 1983, took place in Panama. The Americans used a different technique with us. They fled in the man to man fighting. They got the worst end. However, in the bombings, with the swarm of helicopters they had—they tested a plane on the Rio Hato military base, which is one and a half hours from Panama City, and killed many who were students, high school students from Los Tomacitos military school.

Then came the lies and disinformation. This is an angle of the low-intensity war that they had been implementing for a long time. They have lied regarding the number of dead. In Panama between 6,000 and 7,000 civilians died. Some 300 or 400 Panamanian soldiers were also killed. They had many more dead and wounded, but they have denied this.

Then came the abuses; they raided homes. For example, they have the first Panamanian flag. They looted Panama's historic heritage. As an example I will show you what they did to my home, how they destroyed my home, how they opened and looted the safe. [Suarez shows reporters photographs of his house] My family and friends have photographs of this. They took all they wanted. They stayed in my home for 22 days. They had a small headquarters in my home. I have a copy of the orders they had, their defense plans. I also have a mocking note they left at the house. The note reads: Toty, thanks for your hospitality. You are a gentleman, right? A real gentleman, right? The U.S. Army soldiers. This will give the Cuban brothers an idea of what they were after, of the way they treat Latin American people, and what they want from us.

This whole situation turned very difficult for them. Only two months later, when we had not even considered a reaction from the resistance, they have an armed resistance in Panama and many of their allies, many of those who were in Endara's group—politically speaking—many of those who applauded the invasion, have now turned against it. Panama's future is uncertain, it is a volcano. There is only one truth, Roberto, the Panamanians are going to fight to the end for their liberation. Some are inside the country, some are outside, and some of us will return to fight, but the Americans will have to leave Panama. The struggle has already begun.

[Reporter] You have talked about a resistance that is heightening. Can you expand on this?

[Suarez] There are armed groups in the area of Arraijan, located only 50 minutes [as heard] from Panama City as well as in Cerro Azul. Cerro Azul is an area near the airport on the way to Chepo, on the same road to Darien, a province near the border with Colombia. In Cerro Azul there are armed groups. In Chiriqui Province, bordering with Costa Rica, there are armed groups. In Cocle an armed resistance has just emerged. The United States has not found it easy to deal with the Panamanians. They went into Panama with the full and murdering force that their weapons and techniques give them. But once the Panamanian people recovered, they began to respond in every way.

[Reporter] All we have left to do is thank Toty Suarez, a journalist, a soldier, and a politician. He is president of the Revolutionary Panamenist Party. Thank you for this brief interview for Cuban television.

[Suarez] Thank you for this opportunity. We are committed to the very beloved and appreciated Cuban Government and people. All we have ever received from you has been support. I have always said that Cubans will give the shirts off their backs to help their comrades. Thank you Cuban brothers, we will not let you down.

Argentina

Menem Says Meeting With UK's Howe 'Very Good'

PY1303042890 Buenos Aires DYN in Spanish 2344 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Buenos Aires, 12 mar (DYN)—President Carlos Menem stressed that his meeting this afternoon with British Deputy Prime Minister [title as received] Geoffrey Howe in Santiago was "very good." Menem made this remark at the end of the highest level meeting between Argentine and the British officials since the 1982 war over the Malvinas Islands.

"The dialogue has been very good. It could not have been otherwise," Menem said at the end of the half hour meeting at the residence of Argentine Ambassador to Chile Oscar Espinoza Melo.

The meeting was made possible by the Madrid agreement. Foreign Minister Domingo Cavallo and Defense Minister Humberto Romero also attended.

Cavallo stressed that "Menem and Howe exchanged opinions on the economic situation of their two countries." Cavallo said that Margaret Thatcher's former finance minister explained to Menem "the British privatization process," while Menem explained to Howe the "internal policies he is applying to achieve monetary stability."

Cavallo said that Menem and Howe stressed the importance of the "resumption of diplomatic relations between their two countries."

Cavallo, acting as spokesman, said that Menem stressed "the importance of foreign investments in the country and the fluid trade with the United Kingdom."

Cavallo refused to comment on the identity of the future Argentine ambassador to London, or on discussions concerning the situation in the South Atlantic.

Cavallo admitted that "we did not discuss any particular topic on the Malvinas issue."

Cavallo said that the two governments issued invitations for their heads of state to visit the other country, "as is usual between countries maintaining normal diplomatic relations."

Menem said he expects soon to make the trip "to the only country in Europe I have not seen."

Geoffrey Howe said the meeting was "very useful" and expressed "his happiness for the opportunity to hold the meeting on the occasion of such an important celebration for democracy," referring to Patricio Aylwin's inauguration.

Menem later held a working meeting with his new Chilean counterpart at La Moneda Palace during which, according to reports, the two leaders considered various proposals for regional integration.

Then Menem returned to Espinoza's residence where at 1730 he granted a news conference.

The president then returned to Argentina.

Menem 'Verbally' Approves New British Ambassador

PY1203185090 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1700 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Buenos Aires, 12 Mar (NA)—Today President Carlos Menem verbally told British Deputy Prime Minister, Geoffrey Howe, in Santiago that the Argentine Government will approve the appointment of John Hamilton Humphrey Maud as the new British ambassador to Argentina.

This is another step in the process of fully normalizing Argentine-British diplomatic relations, following Argentina's recent proposal to appoint Deputy Foreign Minister Mario Campora as the new Argentine ambassador to London. The name of the new British ambassador was confirmed to NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS by highly reliable diplomatic sources.

Nevertheless, because of the secrecy surrounding this type of diplomatic action, the two Foreign Ministries may not comment on the appointments until they are formally approved. A resolution to this end is expected in the next few days. [passage omitted]

Brazil

Foreign Ministry Confirms Castro's Attendence

PY1203175290 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1654 GMT 12 mar 90

[Text] Brasilia, 12 Mar (EFE)—The Brazilian Foreign Ministry confirmed here today that Cuban President Fidel Castro will attend the inauguration of Brazilian President-elect Fernando Collor de Mello on 15 March. The press office for Itamaraty Palace did not give further details of the Cuban president's visit to Brazil.

The Brazilian inaugural ceremony will be attended by all South American presidents—except for Ecuadoran President Rodrigo Borja—and by the presidents of Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Guatemala.

Last Sunday, Federal Police Officer Celso Soares expressed concern about Fidel Castro's possible presence in Brasilia because of the problems that could be created by the press and well-wishers. The confirmation of Castro's visit means 25 chiefs of state and government—including Portuguese Prime Minister Mario Soares and Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez—will be visiting Brasilia.

Foreign Officials Start Arriving

PY1303000990 Brasilia Domestic Service in Portuguese 2200 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] The foreign delegations that will attend the inauguration of President-elect Fernando Collor are beginning to arrive. Thus far the delegations of Botswana, [word indistinct], and Ecuador have arrived. The Soviet delegation will arrive tonight. [Words indistinct] of the Supreme Soviet will represent Mikhail Gorbachev. Tomorrow 26 delegations are expected to arrive. U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle will arrive on 14 March. All chiefs of state and heads of governments will also arrive on 14 March, except for that of Guyana, who will arrive tomorrow.

Among these chiefs of state are Carlos Menem of Argentina, Felipe Gonzalez of Spain, Alan Garcia of Peru, and Mario Soares of Portugal. They will stay, as usual, at the presidential suite of the National Hotel in downtown Brasilia. So far 121 countries have confirmed the presence of delegations at the inauguration of President-elect Fernando Collor, including Cuban President Fidel Castro, who has visited Brazil only once, in 1961.

In Brasilia, more than 650 rooms in five-star and four-star hotels have been reserved by Itamaraty for foreign delegations. There are vacancies only in one, two, and three star hotels.

Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti has arrived in Brazil for the inauguration of Fernando Collor. He arrived on 11 March in Manaus to learn a little about the Amazon. The day after tomorrow he will visit Bahia.

The Italian prime minister is expected to arrive in Salvador on 14 March. He will participate in the dedication of San Rafael Hospital, one of the most modern hospitals in Brazil. [passage indistinct].

Francisco Rezek Named New Foreign Minister

PY1203170990 Rio de Janeiro Rede Globo Television in Portuguese 1600 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Superior Electoral Tribunal President Francisco Rezek has been named foreign minister for the Collor administration. Rezek will be officially designated on 14 March. He will represent Minas Gerais in the new administration. By accepting his designation, Rezek gave up his career as a judge, which could have lasted 25 years.

The president-elect will announce the name of the new health minister tomorrow.

Agriculture Minister Appointee Seen as Surprise

PY1003164790 Brasilia Radio Nacional da Amazonia Network in Portuguese 1000 GMT 10 Mar 90

[Report by Miriam Oliveira]

[Excerpts] Only two more ministers must be appointed to complete the new administration's cabinet. Before 15 March, when he will take office, President-elect Fernando Collor de Mello will appoint the ministers of health and foreign affairs. The most recent appointment was Federal District Governor Joaquim Roriz. He was appointed agriculture and agrarian reform minister.

The choice of the Federal District governor for the Agriculture and Agrarian Reform Ministry has perplexed the journalists who cover the news at the Wedding Cake [name given by the press to the Itamaraty Building in Brasilia].

Joaquim Roriz, the favorite candidate in the first direct elections for the Brasilia governorship, was invited by Fernando Collor de Mello to become agriculture minister at noon yesterday. He accepted the invitation five hours later.

The Brasilia governor said he does not know much about the area in which he will have to act. He said he sees the position as a challenge because he will have to learn a lot about agriculture and agrarian reform during his period at the head of the Agriculture and Agrarian Reform Ministry. [passage omitted]

The agriculture and agrarian reform minister-designate has said agrarian reform is fundamental in a country such as Brazil. He asserted that reform will be implemented in a fair and peaceful manner. He also said he is entirely against subsidies to the agricultural sector and that subsidies to any sector are a national disaster.

Romeu Tuma Named New Federal Revenues Secretary

PY1003031190 Rio de Janeiro Rede Globo Television in Portuguese 1600 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Police Delegate Romeu Tuma has been confirmed as federal revenues secretary for the Collor government. He will discharge this duty concurrently with that of Federal Police director. This announcement has just been made in Brasilia. Future Justice Minister Bernardo Cabral made the announcement on behalf of President-elect Fernando Collor de Mello. [passage omitted]

Senate Approves Appointment of Bank Members

PY0903145890 Brasilia Radio Nacional da Amazonia Network in Portuguese 1000 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] The Senate has approved the appointment of the Central Bank board members. The appointment of Ibrahim Eris as Central Bank president, and three other directors, has been discussed and approved by the Senate Economic Affairs Commission.

During the discussions, the future Central Bank president anticipated some of the measures he intends to adopt when he assumes office. Eris proposed changes in the rules for private banks, who he feels profit most from inflation. Some of these measures include reducing the

time needed for checks to clear, to prevent speculation with clients' money; reducing the period for tax collection and remittance of taxes by the banks to the national treasury; and demanding improved banking services for the public.

The bill submitted by Senator Itamar Franco, vice president-elect, which forbids people linked to the financial market to hold posts on the Central Bank board, has prompted heated discussions among senators, but it did not prevent the selection of Ibrahim Eris. Eris himself explained that he has already withdrawn from the financial market.

[Begin Eris recording] Of course working in the financial market adds something to a person's credentials. Obviously a candidate must completely separate himself from that position, as I have. I have fully withdrawn from the financial market to avoid any possible conflict of interest. [end recording]

The future Central Bank president also proposed a national understanding, a new social pact, to minimize the excessive effects of the economic measures to be adopted by the president-elect and his team.

Chile

President Aylwin Addresses Inaugural Rally

PY1303020090 Santiago Television Nacional de Chile Network in Spanish 2309 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Speech by President Patricio Aylwin at the National Stadium in Santiago—live]

[Text] This is our Chile, the Chile we all want, the country for which so many people during its history gave their lives to preserve, the just and democratic country, the nation of brothers.

Presidents, heads of governments, ministers, ambassadors of friendly nations, members of the government and congress, judges of the fatherland, Chileans, friends:

We are gathering here today with hope and joy. Hope, because at last we begin, with a fraternal spirit and a yearning for freedom and justice, a new stage in our national life. Joy, because for the first time in 20 years we begin walking a path that we ourselves chose consciously and freely. It has not been imposed on us. It is the result of the free and sovereign will of the Chilean people.

Today we celebrate a new daybreak. [applause] In this beautiful gathering, more than celebrating the victory that was officially sanctioned during the inauguration at Congress yesterday, we make public our firm commitment to consolidate our national unity, seeking reconciliation among all Chileans on the bases of mutual respect and the nonrestrictive reign of truth, law, and justice. [applause]

This celebration is enhanced by the presence of our guests, leaders and representatives of friendly countries. They are with us at this happy moment as they were with us in solidarity during the days of persecution and pain. [applause]

They joined our struggle with the asylum they generously granted all exiled Chileans, [applause] with their defense of the human rights of so many fellow Chileans, and with their solidarity with our people's struggle to recover democracy. In the name of our people, I now thank you, thank you very much. [applause]

We would also like to add something else. You can rest assured that the return of democracy to Chile will also mean that we will actively participate in all international cooperative efforts, that we may contribute to the development of the people, to justice and peace among nations, and to the reign of human rights in all countries of the world. [applause]

Millions of Chileans from one end of the nation to the other are with us in this festivity. Others who live abroad, either voluntarily or because they were forced to do so, have hopes for the restoration of democracy here. We are conveying to them our fraternal greetings. [applause]

During the sad, hateful, and blind days when force prevailed over reason, this stadium was for many countrymen a place of imprisonment and torture. We would like to say to all Chileans and to the world that never again will human dignity be violated; [applause] never again, fratricidal hate; never again, violence among brothers. From this site, where His Holiness Pope John Paul II told Chilean youths that the values of the spirit—like the daughter of Jairo—were not dead but sleeping, we would like to proclaim to the world that the traditional civic and democratic spirit of the Chilean people, which gave us prestige among nations, and which was reason enough to be proud, has never died. It was asleep, but after years of suffering, bitterness, struggle, and obstacles, it has awakened, alert and never to sleep again. [applause]

Today we are making a commitment to rebuild our democracy faithful to the values we inherited from our forefathers, values which Cardinal Silva Enriquez, [applause] a just man and a great friend of the Chilean people, to whom we owe so much, described beautifully as the soul of Chile, the love for freedom, the rejection of all forms of oppression, the supremacy of the law over injustice, the supremacy of faith over any form of idolatry, tolerance of differing opinions, and the tendency not to exacerbate conflicts but to attempt to resolve them through agreement. These values will prevail among us again. [applause]

We have a beautiful and complex job ahead of us. We must restore a climate of respect and confidence among the Chilean people, no matter what their beliefs, points of view, activities, or the social class to which they belong; no matter whether they are civilians or military.

[booing] Yes gentlemen, yes fellow countrymen, no matter whether they are civilians or military, Chile is a single country. [applause] The innocent should not pay for the guilty. [applause] We must be able to reconstruct the unity of the Chilean family, [applause] be they workers or businessmen, laborers or intellectuals. We must open paths for democratic participation so everyone may cooperate in achieving well-being. We must abolish the great differences that divide us and especially must raise the living standards of the most needy sectors to respectable and human levels. We must safeguard the health of our fellow countrymen. [applause] We must establish a fair relationship between those involved in the economic process. We must give our youths access to knowledge, job opportunities, and progress, which is in keeping with the time in which we are living. [applause] We must promote the participation and enhance the role of the women in Chilean society. [applause] We must grant our elderly the respect they deserve. [applause] We must promote growth and safeguard the stability of our economy. We must improve the terms of our foreign trade. We must preserve the environment [applause] and our renewable natural resources. We must make our utmost contribution to Latin America's democratization, development, and integration, and to the consolidation of world peace. In sum, we must implement the policies contained in the program that the Coalition of the Parties for Democracy [CPPD] proposed to the country.

Although the job that lies ahead of us is beautiful and complex, and demands from us our utmost effort and enthusiasm, as we undertake it we must be fully aware of the difficulties it will pose. We are going to face difficulties caused by the obstacles and restraints the past regime has left us. [booing] There will be obstacles stemming from the very nature of the various issues; and there will also be others, no less important, which we created ourselves. Nobody ignores that the previous government tried to perpetuate itself in power. [booing]

History tells us that such attempts have never prevailed over the peoples' right to govern themselves. [applause] We are witnessing this in various parts of the world. We are also proving this with this very event we are celebrating. However, the satisfaction we feel today must not prevent us from seeing the innumerable limitations, obstacles, and restraints that the regime that governed until yesterday created in its attempt to perpetuate itself in power. [booing]

Those who exercized full power made an effort until the last day to reduce the power of the new democratic officials. Those with unlimited use of the state assets, acting as absolute owners of those assets, were able to remove a significant number of them from the administration to which the assets constitutionally belong, from the president of the Republic. [applause]

Many people are asking why we accepted these things. They do not hide their rejection of the cordial way in which the transfer of power was being conducted, while these events were taking place. While I supporting the moral condemnation that such a conduct deserves, a condemnation which I am certain history will approve, I invite my countrymen to look at the other side of the issue.

We are happy with the peaceful path we took, without any emotional stress, to the democratic government. In order to avoid the limitations imposed by the former regime, should we have exposed our people to new violence, suffering, and loss of life? [shouts of No]

We, the Chilean democrats, decided to achieve democracy by defeating authoritarianism on its own playing field. This is what we did, accepting the benefits and costs involved. [applause]

I sincerely believe that the path we chose was the best possible one. Courtesy does not mean cowardice. [applause] I believe that most of the obstacles used to attempt to restrain us will not resist the weight of reason and the law. [applause] I trust that the National Congress, disregarding differences among parties, will approve the necessary reforms to insure the normal and prompt operation of our new democracy. I am sure that our Armed and Security Forces will fulfill their institutional duties if anyone dared, or is tempted, to employ force against the will of the people. [applause]

We will also have to overcome the natural problem involving issues. Our program is large, the requirements are many. There are many needs that have not been fulfilled for years which must be met. We will not be able to do everything once. We will have to establish priorities. The right thing to do is to begin with the poorest. [applause] There are many people with problems. We will give first priority to those who really need help. Our country belongs to the developing world. Our national per capita income is low. If we distribute our income among the 12 million Chileans, no one would be satisfied and we would stop our growth.

We need to grow if we want to overcome poverty. This requires that we stimulate savings, investments, creative initiative, and the entrepreneurial spirit. Government policies must reconcile the spirit of social justice and the legitimate requirement to satisfy essential needs with the unavoidable demand for growth and development.

Everything in life requires time. How many years did we spend trying to recover democracy? [booing, whistling] The fact that we now have a government of the people does not mean that problems will disappear. It only means that from this very moment, from now on, we will begin to work to solve these problems.

We count on everyone's effort and participation in the task. [applause] Only then can we consolidate our democracy and solve our problems.

We must also resolve other difficulties: the problems within ourselves. I will call them the great temptations:

the temptation to consume all our time in settling old accounts, the temptation to begin everything anew, and the temptation of power.

It is legitimate and just for people to want truth after a long period of an absolute and mysterious power, with so much suffering, and with public matters held as inaccessible secrets. We have said before, and we solemnly reiterate today, that the moral conscience of the nation demands that we find out the truth about the missing people, [applause] the truth about the horrendous crimes and other grave human rights violations that occurred during the dictatorship. We have also said, and I reiterate today, that we must face this delicate matter by reconciling the virtues of justice and prudence. After the responsibility for those crimes is determined, the time for pardon will arrive. [shouts, whistling]

There are also other unjust matters that demand reparation and prompt correction. Today I have signed decrees pardoning numerous political prisoners. [applause]

In the coming days we will resolve other cases. I have sent to Congress the appropriate bills to resolve the problems of all political prisoners. [applause] We will also have to clarify matters which have never been thoroughly explained. Some of these matters involve the state patrimony and the national interest.

In this necessary exercise of justice, we must avoid the risks of reenacting the past. We must avoid our past conflicts. We must avoid spending endless hours in inquiries, recriminations, or witch hunts. We must not forget our duty to the future. I consider it my duty to ensure that all our time is not spent looking at the past. The spiritual health of the country demands that we find formulas to complete—in a reasonable period of time—the moral cleansing of the nation. The time will come when we will all be able to look at the future with trust, to reconcile ourselves, and to combine our efforts in the task of developing the country. [applause]

In our determination we must also avoid the temptation to try to redo everything, to start from square one as if none of what already exists deserves to be preserved. History tells us that countries are built through cumulative actions of successive generations. Each new phase is built upon the previous one, with its achievements and mistakes. Chile wants us to preserve what is good, correct what is bad, and improve what is not so good. This is the only effective way to progress in our noble and just attempt to match reality with ideals.

We must also be careful of being tempted by power, either by believing it belongs to us and failing to see that we are mere governors of a sovereign people and responsible to them for our performance, or by turning the legitimate democratic controversy into a cruel struggle to preserve, increase, or win power. For us, power will be a mere tool to serve. We will preserve and increase our fellow countrymen's confidence if we are capable of efficiently working for the well-being of the nation.

As far as I am concerned, I assume the honorable and difficult responsibility entrusted to me by the people with the firm determination to be the first servant of Chile and Chileans. [applause]

What can my fellow countrymen expect from me? That I exercise the power entrusted to me honestly and wholeheartedly, without expecting honors nor avoiding sacrifices, always seeking the common good, abiding by my principles; that I always tell the truth, never straying away from law and zealously seeking justice; that I be loyal to the democratic principles, and also loyal—within the framework of the program that represents our commitment to the Chilean people—to those who honor me with their support; that I respect all the people and the various viewpoints; that I listen to everyone; that I always strive to promote understanding and to reach agreements; that I do not hesitate to make the decisions that, according to my understanding, are in the country's higher interests; in sum, that I try to be a good father to all my fellow countrymen and that with effort, self-sacrifice, and authority I achieve the well-being and happiness of my people, worrying especially about those who need me most, that is, the poorest and humblest. [applause]

What do I expect from my fellow countrymen? I expect and demand, above all, that they understand that the task of building a true and sound democracy and of achieving the development and justice we desire are not tasks exclusively for the government, Congress, and other authorities, but tasks for all Chileans. We require everyone's imagination, effort, initiative, discipline, and sacrifice. We can accomplish our tasks only with everyone's cooperation.

Our government will not fulfill the duties of each and every Chilean citizen, each social organization, each enterprise. It will be here to support them, encourage them, back them, but nobody must forget that Chile belongs to everyone and must be built every day by everyone. [applause]

I hope for and demand patriotism from everyone so that they can understand and accept that Chile's interests come before the interest of particular individuals, groups, or sectors. Everyone must cooperate generously, to the extent of his own abilities, if we are to achieve a fair and stable political, economic, and social order. I hope and demand that all Chileans abide by the law and reason in working for their own aspirations and that they refrain from resorting to violence in order to impose their intentions. [applause] Whoever resorts to violence will fail. The use of force belongs to dictatorships; reason and law are the tools of democracy. [applause]

I hope that we mutually respect our different viewpoints, that we give up all sorts of sectarianism and hegemonic pretensions, and that we make every effort possible to understand each other and find paths to consensus. I am well aware that many Chileans have been ill-treated and neglected during these many past years. I am aware that

they are tired of waiting and believe that the return to democracy will quickly solve their problems that are often distressing. I understand their needs and urge them also to understand, as I have insistently said during the electoral campaign, that we will need time and a lot of cooperation. If you have been forced to wait for so long, I now ask you for some voluntary and reasonable patience. To those Chileans who have made progress in the midst of a peace imposed by force, I ask them to understand that in modern societies there is no stable order or safety if it is not based on rational consensus rooted in law. [applause]

The desire for peace that prevails among us demands our utmost effort to maintain and project toward the future the climate of understanding that has marked our transit toward democracy. In this spirit we must praise the dialogue that is being held by workers and businessmen with the purpose of reaching agreements in the economic and labor fields. In order to support and complement this initiative, I have instructed my finance, economy, and labor ministers to arrange meetings between the Central Labor Union, the Production and Commerce Confederation, and the government, in order to reach an agreement that will represent a guarantee of progress, justice, and stability. [applause]

Fellow countrymen, may the Lord help us fulfill the task with which Chile has entrusted us. May the Lord give us wisdom and spare us from mistakes and clumsiness. May the Lord give us wisdom to face reality without mistaking desire for capability and to act effectively. May the Lord give us energy to make the decisions and the courage not to be intimidated by difficulties. May the Lord give us the patience to overcome incomprehension and the humility to recognize our mistakes.

May the Lord illuminate our minds and give us a powerful will to seek justice. May the Lord give us the love to always be united, to work together, and to help each other.

Chile is our home. Let us take care of it together, that its bread may feed all of its children, that the fruits of peace and the joy of living may grow. I have faith. I have a great deal of faith in Chile and in its people, in their sacrifices and common sense, in the strength of the Chilean women, in the spirit and imagination of our workers, in the creativity of our intellectuals and businessmen, in the idealism of our youths, in the moral values of our families.

Our beautiful history teaches us how this small and hard-working nation—overcoming the problems of poverty, its crazy and beautiful geography, and its earthquakes—was able to build an exemplary Republic that is admired among nations. Because of several ideologies and various irreconcilable goals, for a time hate prevailed over solidarity; force prevailed over reason. After years of bloody divisions and the rule of violence, today we again have a patriotic spirit, and we stand ready to lead Chile into the new century as a prosperous and peaceful nation. [applause]

At this crucial time in our national life, I invite all of my countrymen to go deep into their minds to ask themselves how everyone can contribute to the great common task and to be ready to assume their share of responsibility. The world is looking at us. The great leaders of our history demand that we act in a suitable manner. The future generations will judge our conduct. The task is beautiful: to build together the nation we want, free, just, and good for all Chileans. It is up to us countrymen. [applause]

Nicaragua's Ortega on Need for Contra Disarmament

PY1203134590 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0447 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Santiago, 11 Mar (EFE)—In Santiago today, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega reiterated that the "contras" must disarm before the transfer of presidential power, scheduled for 25 April 1990.

Ortega added that U.S. policy toward Central America has been a mistaken and aggressive one.

Ortega made these remarks during a news conference at a downtown hotel in Santiago, after arriving tonight in the Chilean capital to participate in the celebrations of President Patricio Aylwin's inauguration.

Ortega, along with Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez, Costa Rican President Oscar Arias, and Honduran President Rafael Callejas, traveled aboard the Spanish presidential airplane at the invitation of Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez.

Ortega pointed out that the disarmament of the "contras" is the U.S. Government's foremost duty. He stated, however, that the Sandinista Army will not deliver its weapons to the new executive branch headed by Violeta Chamorro, whose coalition won the Nicaraguan elections on 25 February, "because weapons do not belong to political parties, they belong to the nation."

According to the Nicaraguan chief of state, the "contra" actions and the U.S. economic blockade have caused 30,000 casualties, a similar number of injured people, and a $17-billion economic loss.

Asked if he would be willing to meet with U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle, who is also visiting Chile, Ortega responded that "I have always been willing to talk and on 27 October 1989 I met with (U.S.) President George Bush in Costa Rica.

Ortega added that he has already achieved an initial agreement with the presidents of Costa Rica and Honduras to hold a summit of Central American presidents in Managua in late March. He pointed out that only the approval of Guatemalan President Vinicio Cerezo and Salvadoran President Alfredo Cristiani is missing.

Regarding the defeat of the Sandinist Front and the victory of the National Opposition Union (UNO) in the recent Nicaraguan elections, Ortega indicated it was due to U.S. pressure.

Ortega explained: "The people voted with the pressure of a gun pointed at their temples. In sum, they voted for an offer of economic assistance if the UNO won or the extension of the blockade if the Sandinists won. It was something disadvantageous for us."

Concerning Chile, Ortega remarked on the arrival of the Nicaraguan poet Ruben Dario to the Chilean port of Valparaiso and expressed his wish to visit the tombs of writer Pablo Neruda and former Chilean President Salvador Allende, who died during the coup d'etat of 11 September 1973 that brought General Augusto Pinochet to power.

Contras 'Must' Disarm

PA1203151890 Managua Domestic Service in Spanish 1216 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Report by Leopoldo Sevilla from Chile—live]

[Text] Last night at about 2230 Chilean time, President Daniel Ortega Saavedra held a news conference with foreign reporters. The conference was held at the Carrera Hotel, next to the La Moneda Presidential Palace, where hundreds of Chileans, expressing their solidarity with Nicaragua, were waiting for him.

The Nicaraguan president commented on the Nicaraguan election results which, according to him, have become a victory for the Sandinist National Liberation Front. After describing the Chilean situation as a most important moment in history, he referred to his meeting in Caracas with Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez and the Spanish prime minister, both of who feel that the contras should be demobilized before the transfer of power on 25 April. President Ortega did not rule out the possibility of meeting with U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle. Let us listen to part of the news conference hosted on 11 March at the Carrera Hotel by President Daniel Ortega in Chile with the foreign media covering the inauguration of Patricio Aylwin.

[Begin recording] [Ortega] We have an agreement that has to do with [words indistinct] to achieve a balance of forces in the Central American region. Nicaragua has advocated, and I have advocated, the need to [words indistinct]. We must turn Nicaragua into a neutral zone, free from all foreign military presence. [Words indistinct] so the Central American people can have more independence and security.

When I met with President Carlos Andres Perez and President Felipe Gonzalez, we fully agreed that the contras must be demobilized and disarmed. In the first place, this is the responsibility of the U.S. Government, which has organized and financed the mercenary forces that are jeopardizing democracy in Nicaragua. These forces hinder all of the efforts the Nicaraguans have been making.

We have also spoken with the Central American presidents. We discussed meeting in Managua because a meeting there is pending. We agreed in principle on a meeting with the Costa Rican president-elect and the Honduran president. We have to consult with Guatemalan President Cerezo and Salvadoran President Cristiani. We have discussed the meeting over the telephone. We would like to hold this meeting at the end of March. We have many sensitive topics to discuss, such as the immediate demobilization of the counterrevolutionaries, inasmuch as the Central American agreements to this effect have not been respected. Nicaragua [words indistinct]. The contra threat against the security and lives of the Nicaraguan people continues.

[Question indistinct]

[Ortega] That is the will of the Nicaraguan people and I will respect it. The contras are a threat. The current Nicaraguan Government has been [words indistinct] by them, and they are a threat to the new government of Nicaragua that will take over on 25 April. Therefore, the contras must be demobilized.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] about the Nicaraguan economy of the blockade. I would like to know, Mr. President, what the cost of the U.S. blockade to the Nicaraguan economy has been. I would also like to know how many lives have been lost as a result of U.S. aggression against your country.

[Ortega] We have sustained an aggression in which over 60,000 have become war victims. If we compare this to the U.S. population, [words indistinct] this would have been equivalent to about 2 million people. [end recording]

You have just listened to President Daniel Ortega Saavedra answer questions from international reporters. Ortega also referred to the expenses of the war that have amounted to over (10 billion) as a result of U.S. aggression. The president also said that there is no comparison between the contras and the Sandinist People's Army [EPS] and the Interior Ministry [MINT]. Both the EPS and the MINT are provided for in the Nicaraguan Constitution. To conclude, Ortega congratulated the Chilean people, who are today living a new era, on a new stage in their democracy with the government of Patricio Aylwin.

Aylwin is a political leader who by assuming power has ended the 16-year military regime that was plagued by charges of human rights violations. We will be following the activities President Ortega as he meets with organizations that have expressed their solidarity with the Nicaraguan people and as he meets with the other presidents.

Ortega Says Talks With Quayle 'Positive'

PA1203213590 Managua Domestic Service in Spanish 1913 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Report by Leopoldo Sevilla, special Voz de Nicaragua correspondent, from Santiago, Chile—live or recorded]

[Text] Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega Saavedra, who arrived yesterday in Chile for Patricio Aylwin's inauguration, today attended a religious ceremony at the Metropolitan Cathedral in Santiago, Chile. Several Latin American heads of state and leaders who attended the ceremony had earlier demanded the demobilization and disarmament of the contras prior to 25 April, when President Ortega will turn power over to Mrs. Violeta Barrios de Chamorro.

Prior to the start of the religious ceremony, which was attended by Cardinal Juan Francisco Fresno, primate of Chile, President Ortega greeted U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle; they conversed for about three minutes. They agreed to meet later, and they did so at 1700 GMT. They talked about demobilization of the contras, which—as we said earlier—is demanded by the main heads of state and political leaders of Latin America, Spain, and Portugal who are attending the inauguration of Patricio Aylwin, who put an end to over 16 years of the Pinochet dictatorship that took a toll of thousands of dead and missing persons.

Let us listen to a news conference President Ortega held to report on his important meeting with U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle:

[Begin recording] [Ortega] It was a frank, constructive, and friendly conversation. He expressed the U.S. Government's willingness to contribute toward efforts so that the transfer of power in Nicaragua would be held in the best way possible. I must admit that the transfer of power will take place as normally as possible. The ideal would be for the contras to demobilize prior to 25 April, as all Nicaraguans must comply with the commitment we have with the Central American leaders. He told me [his government] would seek ways to support this process so that the contras will be demobilized by 25 April.

[Reporter] What will the United States ask of the contras?

[Ortega] I would not want to make any advance statements, but I do want to point out my conversation with Vice President Quayle was very positive.

[Reporter] How about your conversations with other presidents?

[Ortega] There is a unanimous feeling. I talked with President Carlos Andres Perez, Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez, President Arias, President Callejas, and everyone shared the opinion that the contras should be disarmed and demobilized prior to 25 April.

[Question indistinct]

[Ortega] Peace and minimum stability, so that we can confront the economic problems that affect Nicaragua, as well as the rest of the Latin American countries.

[Question indistinct]

[Ortega] I believe that conditions have been created for this meeting. This is a process in which Prime Minister Gonzalez, President Perez, the Contadora Group, and the Central American people have all been helping. So we find ourselves now in a phase that, if it is handled well, could lead us to a minimum of stability.

[Question] Did you discuss the lifting of the embargo?

[Ortega] We discussed everything. We talked about many issues, and I found Vice President Quayle to be very positive. [end recording]

That was the news conference Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega held today with reporters here at the Carrera Hotel concerning the Chilean inauguration. President Ortega also met this morning with the main leaders of the Chilean leftist parties. Later, at 1600 GMT, he met with leaders of the Christian Democratic Party at party headquarters.

We will keep you posted on the activities of the president of the Republic. To conclude, we want to point out that everywhere that President Ortega has gone, he has been welcomed by thousands of Chileans who cheer President Daniel Ortega Saavedra, voicing their solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution.

Ortega Meets With Leftist Leaders

PY1203183090 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Spanish 1600 GMT 12 mar 90

[Excerpt] Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega has met with the main leaders of Chile's leftist parties to discuss his country's internal situation, especially the counterrevolutionary guerrillas and the current government. Present at the meeting were Christian Left leader Luis Maira, Socialist Party leader Clodomiro Almeyda, Communist Party leader Volodia Teitelboim, and Patricio Rivas, leader of the MIR-Politico [Movement of the Revolutionary Left-Political faction].

At the end of the meeting Ortega spoke to journalists waiting for him on the seventh floor of the Carrera Hotel, where he is staying.

[Begin recording] [Reporter] [question indistinct]

[Ortega] I expressed the Nicaraguan people's solidarity with the Chilean people and I also gave thanks for the Chilean people's solidarity with the Nicaraguan people. We are waging a common battle for peace and democracy, a battle that has just started. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Spain's Gonzalez Working on Contra Disarmament

PY1203151790 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0559 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Santiago, 12 Mar (EFE)—Felipe Gonzalez, the president of the Spanish Government [as received], today continued his mediation of the disbandment of the Nicaraguan "contras." Upon his arrival in Santiago, Gonzalez reiterated his support for the Chilean democracy.

Gonzalez arrived in the Chilean capital on the night of 11 March aboard the presidential airplane, a Boeing 707 of the Spanish Air Force. Gonzalez, who was accompanied by Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega, Costa Rican President Oscar Arias, and Honduran President Rafael Callejas, came to attend inaugural ceremonies for Patricio Aylwin.

During their flight from Caracas to Santiago, Gonzalez and his companions expressed their interest in the disbandment of the "contras," Spanish Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez Ordonez has reported.

After arriving at Santiago's airport, Gonzalez spoke on the issues discussed during their flight. He pointed out that there was a convergence of positions that will facilitate the peace process in Nicaragua.

For his part, Fernandez Ordonez explained that demobilization of the "contras" in Honduras can be carried out under UN supervision and weapons turned over through an extension of the ONUCA (United Nations Group of Observers for Central America) as long as the Honduran Government and the rebels support this idea.

[Words indistinct] should increase its jurisdiction and Spain could increase its participation in this organization, Ordonez noted.

[Words indistinct] parallel forces, as the United States pretends.

Ordonez pointed out that additional meetings between Gonzalez and U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle, who is visiting Chile, "are not ruled out." Ordonez said that during their flight he found Ortega "tremendously positive." In Fernandez Ordonez' opinion, Ortega wants to carry out a "peaceful, orderly, and serious" transition in Nicaragua when Violeta Chamorro succeeds him on 25 April.

Concerning a possible meeting between Quayle and Ortega, both Gonzalez and Ordonez agreed that it is possible that Quayle and Ortega will meet today during a luncheon that Aylwin will host for his guests.

Regarding Chile, Fernandez Ordonez indicated that Spain will express with deeds, and not with words, its support for Chilean democracy. He added that his country will attempt to secure a cooperation agreement between the EC and Chile as soon as possible.

Fernandez Ordonez also discussed the signing of a basic agreement on a Spanish-Chilean Friendship and Cooperation Treaty. The signing of this agreement has been scheduled for today.

"We have come to do things that represent signs of support and not just wishes," said Fernandez Ordonez, who added that it is time to clearly express the EC's wish to cooperate with Latin America.

Gonzalez, who answered several questions after Aylwin's inauguration, refused to judge Pinochet's influence on the future of Chilean democracy "as this would represent an interference" and reiterated his strict respect for all persons.

Nevertheless, Gonzalez predicted that "democracy and free and peaceful coexistence will be reestablished" in Chile. He remembered Salvador Allende, adding: "I felt very close to him as a person."

Holds Meeting With Quayle

PY1203213990 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1801 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Santiago, 12 Mar (EFE)—Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez today met again with U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle. During the meeting they discussed the demobilization of the Nicaraguan "contras."

Gonzalez and Chilean President Patricio Aylwin will sign a Spanish-Chilean cooperation treaty this afternoon.

The meeting, which was held at Quayle's request, lasted 20 minutes. The Spanish prime minister reiterated that the demobilization of the contras is "necessary, although it is not the only condition" for achieving peace in Nicaragua. The two leaders analyzed the conclusions of a meeting that Gonzalez and Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega held during their trip to Chile.

Gonzalez denied, when speaking with journalists, that he was playing the role of mediator on the Nicaraguan issue, saying: "There is no mediation but our conversations are yielding results."

Gonzalez added that he does not believe that permanent accords can be reached at this time although he said that progress is being made in some areas. As an example, he mentioned the initiative to hold a Central American presidential summit at the end of March or early April to analyze the Nicaraguan situation.

Felipe Gonzalez said that the U.S. Government is "responsive" to the idea of continuing talks over Nicaragua.

Concerning the willingness by the U.S. to provide economic aid for relocating the contras in Nicaragua, Gonzalez said that it should be made clear that the aid should be conditioned to the surrendering of the contras' weapons.

Referring to this relocation matter, Gonzalez stated: "There are many difficulties because we are dealing with people who have been fighting for nine years and the change is not easy."

Prior to this second meeting between Gonzalez and Quayle, Spanish Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez Ordonez stated that the U.S. support to the demobilization of the contras is considered essential, adding that the demobilization could be carried out under the ONUCA [United Nations Observer Group in Central America] plans.

The previous Gonzalez-Quayle meeting was held in Venezuela last weekend together with Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez. At this meeting Quayle defended the demobilization of the contras, saying that it should be parallel to the reduction of the Sandinist Army.

Gonzalez and Quayle may meet again in Argentina or Brazil during their upcoming visits, while Gonzalez and Aylwin will meet today and will sign a draft treaty of friendship and cooperation between Spain and Chile that amounts to some $2 billion in released investment resources.

This agreement is similar to the one signed with Venezuela on 10 March. It offers credits to Chile for $800 million within the overall $2 billion.

Fernandez Ordonez said that it is an "important" document that covers the idea of Spanish cooperation with Chile.

It includes political, economic and financial, technical and scientific, cultural, and consular cooperation.

Spain will also provide $50 million in economic contributions to the fund for social solidarity that has been created by the new Chilean Government.

Referring to these agreements, the Spanish foreign minister said that the Chilean Government will be granted an advance disbursement of $100 million in FAD (Fund for Development Aid) credits, adding that negotiations for the finalization of the treaty with Chile will begin immediately.

Fernandez Ordonez stated in Chile that this is the moment to clearly state that the European Community [EC] wants to cooperate with Iberoamerica. He also proposed a cooperation agreement between the EC and Chile.

Fernandez Ordonez stated that the Spanish-Chilean agreement, like that between the EC and Chile, is a sign of clear support for, and solidarity with, the Chilean democracy.

Felipe Gonzalez today also met with the Ecuadoran President Rodrigo Borja and greeted Portugal's President Mario Soares.

Gonzalez and Borja talked about the Central American situation, especially that of Nicaragua, and some bilateral matters that included cooperation in hydroelectric projects.

Carabineros Communique on Inauguration Clashes

PY1203195190 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Spanish 1600 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Report by Reinaldo Berrios from mobile unit]

[Text] A total of 118 civilians and 79 Carabineros were injured in various incidents that took place yesterday afternoon in downtown Santiago.

The office of the chief of the Carabineros Metropolitan Zone has released the following official communique:

1—Yesterday afternoon, between 1845 and 2100, on the Libertador Bernardo O'Higgins Avenue outside the La Moneda Palace, groups of hotheaded people and subversives, clearly demonstrating signs of organization and training, initiated violence against people attending the welcome ceremony for his excellency the president of the Republic, Mr. Patricio Aylwin Azocar, and against Carabineros personnel.

2—The following acts of vandalism can now be reported:

1 [as heard] Injured Carabineros personnel total 12 officers, four noncommissioned officers, and 63 corporals and Carabineros. Their injuries are as follows: 10 serious; 27 less serious; 25 minor; and 17 under control.

A total of 118 civilians were injured—28 seriously; 43 less seriously; and 57 with minor injuries. They received attention at different hospitals following the attacks that were principally carried out by promoters of violence.

During these criminal actions, damage to national and foreign authorities' vehicles, and police and ambulance vehicles, was also reported.

Some news stands and shops were looted and street adornments in the area were damaged.

A total of 14 persons were detained for engaging in disorders. They will be placed at the disposal of local police courts.

The official communique adds that the Chilean Carabineros, in addition to strongly repudiating these cowardly attacks which involved a significant number of Carabineros personnel, consider it their duty to report the great injustice caused by those who seek to tarnish the exemplary record of an institution, which, as is its duty, tried to maintain order and normalcy during the transfer of the supreme power of the nation.

It is regrettable that many of the attacks, harassments, insults, and provocations took place at a time when the police personnel were carrying out tasks of accommodating the public and thus were not equipped with protection gear, such as helmets and shields.

The communique concludes by reiterating that all pertinent measures conducive to the compliance with its lofty mission will be taken and that the Carabineros will not be distracted by the conduct of completely isolated groups who in no way represent the spirit with which the citizenry has accepted the current changes in the country.

To this end the Carabineros will use all legal means and resources to preserve public order and the security of the nation.

This was the text of the communique issued by the office of the chief of the Carabineros Metropolitan Zone.

Colombia

Venezuela's Perez Stresses Latin American Unity

PA1303033990 Bogota Domestic Service in Spanish 1724 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Speech by Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez at the ceremony to sign the San Pedro Alejandrino document in Santa Marta—live]

[Text] Mr. Colombian President Virgilio Barco, Messrs. ministers, Messrs. high commissioners of Colombia and Venezuela, Messrs. members of the Colombian and Venezuelan border commissions, Messrs. governors of Apure, Tachira, and Zulia on the Colombian border, Messrs. ambassadors, ladies and gentlemen:

I fully support in feeling and conviction President Barco's statement that we are protagonists of a highly significant and historical event that is also of particular importantance. Without discussing this in advance, both President Barco and I agreed that this altar of the Bolivarian homeland should be the place for the signing of this pledge of incalculable projections for the great future of our homelands. We wanted to emphasize the honesty and depth of our will and intention to carry out the tasks demanded by our homelands and Latin America, which want to see Colombia and Venezuela once again become pioneer countries in the coordination and integration of our homelands. They again want Simon Bolivar to tell the Latin American people, with his guiding and visionary voice, that there is no other solution, that there is no other option but the integration of Latin America, so that we may become worthy of his legacy and his message.

Hence the extraordinary meaning of the presence here today in San Pedro Alejandrino of the presidents of Colombia and Venezuela, the foreign ministers and ministers of these two nations, the members of the...[corrects himself] the four high commissioners in charge of studying the methodology for solving problems between our two countries, representatives of the border commissions, the ambassadors of our two nations, and representatives of the people in our two homelands. This clearly proves that it is not an action which reflects the exclusive initiative of two presidents. Instead, it involves the decision by both nations to resolve a situation that cannot be indefinitely prolonged because we will be held responsible by future generations for the negative results of this lack of understanding and cooperation.

(?I have received) the high commissioners' report. The first thing they point out is that it was a months-long effort, a meticulous and thorough job, and the report is the result of a fraternal and cordial relationship which always prevailed in their talks. It is appropriate to mention that there is a clear understanding about the goals and purposes which must be sought by our nations. This has been the atmosphere which prevailed among our high commissioners while they prepared their report with honesty and a deep patriotic, Latin American spirit, and this is the spirit which should prevail between the presidents of our two nations and the commissioners we will appoint according to the recommendations we have just received. We must all strive to carry out each and every one of the steps suggested in the report.

What kind of agreement have the high commissioners reached? What kind of document is to be signed by the presidents of our two countries? If tomorrow future generations were to look back, they would say: How is it possible that after these two nations had existed for one and a half centuries, our forefathers were immersed in the discussion of topics that delayed—and they have certainly delayed—the progress and development of our two countries? Why were the water basins, a domain shared by our two countries, not jointly handled? Why did they allow their deterioration throughout the years? Why has the Amazon region, which our countries share with other Latin American nations, not been a factor of unity, agreement, and development for our people? Why are we still debating border demarcations after peacefully coexisting for 150 years? Why have immense resources from a joint physical and geographic zone that is divided by an artificial border line not been used by the men and women of the two nations for their welfare and happiness? Why have border relations become reasons for arguments and confrontations for such a long time?

Future generations of Colombians and Venezuelans will ask all these questions. Our responsibility will be even greater if we do not act today, regardless of how much time has been wasted, because we do not live in an isolated world. We are within an overall reality that encompasses and binds us. We see Europe, which was divided by two world wars, united in a formidable and powerful community. We see the East European nations, the great Soviet Union and the great United States, reaching agreements because the world cannot continue to waste its time, resources, and the possibility of achieving development, welfare, and happiness due to impossible confrontations and disputes that could be devastating for life on this earth.

How can we, the Latin Americans, the Colombians and Venezuelans, be here immersed in selfishness, and how can we fail to understand the greatness which is our

legacy from the man who died here in this land of Santa Marta, and at this San Pedro Alejandrino estate? We have to look toward the future. We must understand that our reasons to continue squandering the great potentials and human resources in our countries are vain and absurd at a time when the world prepares for great agreements, at a time when we face terrifying challenges which already threaten the possibility of achieving our homelands' economic sovereignty. We must try to find the way to face the economic situation in the world, coexist with the great markets which have been developed in various continents, guarantee the life and welfare of our people, and overcome the shameful problems of malnutrition, illiteracy, and the misuse, or insufficient use, of our people's immense and formidable resources.

This is not only a responsibility for Colombia and Venezuela. It is a responsibility that Colombia and Venezuela have toward the Latin American homeland, our own people, and the Latin American people. These must be the ideas and goals that are put into words with Bolivarian clarity in this place, where we bow our heads as a sign of devotion, to promise our fellow citizens that we will strive to solve these problems. We are not simply talking about solving problems, we are talking about our pledge to use all the potential riches and human resources in our homelands to achieve what so many generations of leaders offered to our countries but failed to fulfill throughout more than 150 years of freedom and sovereignty.

This document, President Virgilio Barco, does not only entail our pledge, but also that of all our fellow citizens, all our citizens. We must express our sincere recognition, and our admiration, for Doctors Holguin and Gomez, Doctors Pizzani and Morales Paul, because they are the men who have begun to write this new story—which can no longer be stopped. We must thank Enrique Vargas, Ramon Velasquez, and the other members of the two border commissions who dedicated their time—with an inexorable will, without false patriotic attitudes, with a heartfelt Bolivarian patriotism like the one which we should harbor in our hearts—to study, point by point, detail by detail, the great possibilities, the great agreements, the great options for the development of our border regions. They did this so that—as President Barco stated—agreements could be reached on border problems that we have witnessed throughout the years, and in whose solution we have precluded our fellow citizens' participation.

Meanwhile, poverty and the immigration of poverty—because that is what it is—have perverted relations between our two countries, and it is all our fault. These are the words that we must say out loud, that we must shout to our own consciences. It is also admirable that the high commissioners never considered seeking arbiters or mediators who are alien to our homelands. Instead, they ratified their will and firm belief that we must be willing and prepared to solve our problems, because solving our problems is the expression of a historical fraternity, is absolutely necessary for our two countries, and is our unavoidable duty toward the Latin American region.

My dear friend Virgilio Barco, with these words I want to say that I feel dutybound not to waste one hour or one day, and to help so that the goals we have outlined in San Pedro Alejandrino may become a reality in the shortest time possible. [43-second break in transmission]

An infinite future lies ahead of us, and in the next century, in the next millennium, Latin America will speak its decisive voice of peace and brotherhood in the great debates of mankind. We have no reason to suffer from any complex. We have natural riches that any power of the world would envy. We have our own race, a mestizo race, a race that has been forged in an extraordinary crucible where the aborigines, Indians, blacks, and whites—united—give us the powerful strength and the enterprising and courageous spirit that the Latin American people possess. We say this at a time when America witnesses a time it has not witnessed since its independence. For the first time, all Central America, South America, continental America, and insular or Caribbean America are united in one and only one purpose: democracy.

For the first time in our history, all the rulers of our homelands are the result of the people's secret vote—except for the fraternal homeland of Marti, the beautiful Cuba. However, we are sure that it will find the way, led by talented men with a deep Latin American vocation, in these new times of democracy which light the way for mankind. We, their fellow citizens, must help with an honest willingness so that the possibility may be opened within a clear Latin American brotherhood—of which Jose Marti was one of the most gallant spokesmen.

Let us see how the spirit of understanding has overcome situations that were impossible to predict some time ago. Take, for example, Chile, where a dictatorship prevailed for many years, making it difficult to foresee a return to a legal state. That dictatorship gave the people the opportunity to vote and win with their indomitable willingness to achieve freedom. In a few days a new government will be sworn in, and I will be honored to represent Venezuela at the ceremony. This situation has become a bridge for establishing relations with those who ruled the country through the force of weapons. The former dictator will be part of a democratic government.

Now that I reflect on this issue, let us not forget Nicaragua, President Barco. We have a somewhat similar situation there. The Sandinist government, which had overwhelming power, heeded the appeals of the Contadora Group members, the Group of Eight, and the Central American rulers themselves, and gave us the extraordinary gift of holding free elections. Now they are preparing to turn over power in April to the government that was elected by the people. We must also ask Daniel Ortega and Violeta Chamorro to watch the example that Chile is setting concerning a full and total agreement—

without exclusions or discriminations—to achieve a true peace; a peace that cannot be true if it does not include a national reconciliation.

This is a thought that we must carry from this place, which unites all the Latin Americans in a fervent prayer to the immortal memory of Simon Bolivar. President Barco, on this historical day for Venezuela and Colombia, I join you and say: Let us get to work. [applause]

Report on ELN Terrorist Actions, Possible Rift

PA1203141590

[Editorial Report] Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish on 27 February on page 9-B publishes an article by Miller Rubio Orjuela, which reveals the "serious rift" between the Army of National Liberation (ELN) leader, former priest Manuel Perez, and "the commanders of certain ELN fronts," particularly in Santander and Norte de Santander, who are "trying to change the guerrilla movement's ideology." The article quoted "police sources" and said that the dissidents, "influenced by the changes which have occurred in the USSR and Eastern Europe," are trying to "abolish the ELN's Marxist-Leninist ideology" and replace it with a so-called "dialectic Christianism." Information gathered by the national police indicates that the Northern War Front is trying to institute the image of "a biblical warrior Christ" to develop the military line of the group's Christians, and this has resulted in a confrontation which dates back to Bishop Jesus Emilio Jaramillo Monsalve's assassination on 3 October 1989. The dissident commanders insist that the organization must institute "an ideology that adapts to current political and social changes."

Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 2 at 0000 GMT on 7 March reported that "the ELN has threatened to murder those who vote" in the elections, adding that "one Electoral Tribunal official was murdered by the ELN in El Davio municipality, Valle del Cauca." The report added that at least "two vote counting board members have resigned" given the rebels' threats.

Inravision Television Cadena 2 at 1730 GMT on 7 March featured a report from Hernan Reyes in Cali, which revealed that "following a series of raids in several labor unions" the Army's "3d Brigade dismantled the ELN's Omayra Montoya Henao Urban Cell" and "arrested 10 rebels" who had "infiltrated" labor unions in order to "carry out an intimidation campaign" and prevent the people's participation in the elections.

Bogota Radio Cadena Nacional at 1200 GMT on 9 March broadcast a report by Hector Gomez in Bucaramanga, which revealed that the "2d Division military units captured 20 members of the ELN's Domingo Laino Front" in Arauca and added that this front "is charged with the greatest number of attacks on the Cano Limon-Covenas oil pipeline" and "the murder of Bishop Jesus Emilio Jaramillo." The report added that the ELN front's members include "lawyers, pilots, and chemical engineers."

Paraguay

Argana Highlights Quayle Visit, Other Stopovers

PY1203135890 Asuncion HOY in Spanish 12 Mar 90 p 10

[Text] Shortly before leaving for Chile, where he was to attend Patricio Aylwin's inauguration, Foreign Minister Luis Maria Argana said that "the visit by Dan Quayle will be a landmark. The United States is a very important country and Quayle is the official in charge of filling in for the President."

Argana noted that Quayle will attend the Chilean inauguration and that "he will contact presidents of American countries, among them General Andres Rodriguez. This shows that the Paraguayan president is a major leader of democracy in Latin America."

Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez and Costa Rican President Arnulfo Arias will arrive in Asuncion before a Paraguayan delegation departs for the inauguration of Brazilian President Fernando Collor.

Argana said that the presence of those presidents will be very important because "it will not be a common visit but an initiative from President Carlos Andres Perez, who represents a historically democratic course in Latin America, and who—driven by his wish to engage in a dialogue with the Paraguayan president—has invited President Rodriguez to accompany him aboard his own plane."

Perez, Rodriguez, and Costa Rican President Arnulfo Arias—a Nobel Peace Prize winner—will talk for at least two hours during their flight to Brasilia, where the inauguration of Fernando Collor will take place, Argana said.

Demonstration Staged Against Quayle in Asuncion

PY1303022890 Asuncion RPC Television Network in Spanish 0040 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] A few minutes ago a demonstration was held in downtown Asuncion to repudiate U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle's visit to our country. The demonstration was organized by the Coordinating Board for Latin American Solidarity and Sovereignty. Hugo Ritcher [a leader of the Popular Democratic Movement—MDP] explains further.

[Begin Ritcher recording] We have agreed to organize this act of repudiation especially to make the Paraguayan people understand the meaning of Dan Quayle's visit. Dan Quayle is the vice president of the United States of America, and he represents U.S. foreign policy. This means that he represents a neo-liberal economy that is detrimental to the Latin American people. He represents

the payment of the foreign debt and the implementation of the IMF recipes. At the same time, he represents the negation of projects for real democracy in Latin America and the world, because people who have militarily invaded countries, such as Panama, and have done the same on other occasions, do not, we believe, have any moral authority to speak about democratic projects, as Dan Quayle obviously pretends to do. This is the main objective of this act today. [people heard chanting anti-imperialistic slogans] [end recording]

More on Demonstration Against Quayle

PY1303045290 Asuncion Cerro Cora Sistema Nacional Television in Spanish 0355 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Report by Estela Ruffinelli]

[Text] Tonight representatives of 14 political and social organizations gathered to protest the presence of Dan Quayle in our country.

Various speakers addressed the crowd, and later the demonstrators broke through a police cordon and marched to the Plaza Uruguaya, where they held a spontaneous rally surrounded by a police cordon.

The various speakers talked about political independence from the United States. The workers rejected IMF proposals, and the students recalled the events in July 1969, when they protested the visit of Nelson Rockefeller and were brutally beaten for their actions.

Foreign Minister Comments on Talks With Quayle

PY1303041290 Asuncion RPC Television Network in Spanish 0145 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Interview with Foreign Minister Luis Argana by unidentified reporter at Government House in Asuncion—live]

[Text] [Reporter] Mr. Foreign Minister, excuse us for bothering you while you are accompanying your wife at this reception. What were the subjects of discussion at the meeting [with U.S. Vice President Quayle]?

[Argana] Well, the truth is that it was a very interesting and courteous meeting. We talked about nearly all the international developments, especially about recent Central American events.

[Reporter] Were the needs of our country, such as economic aid, discussed?

[Argana] No. Not precisely. We did not talk about that.

[Reporter] What about the lifting of sanctions imposed on our country?

[Argana] Not about the sanctions themselves, but about greater support and the need for greater economic cooperation.

[Reporter] What about drug trafficking, from Quayle to [President] Rodriguez?

[Argana] Well, the discussions revolved around the Cartagena Agreement and the support Paraguay needs, especially for a communications system that will facilitate an interrelationship in the struggle against the scourge of drug trafficking.

[Reporter] What other subject was of interest to Quayle?

[Argana] Well, I think those subjects were sufficient, do you not think so?

[Reporter] Were there some conclusions reached, Minister?

[Argana] No, there were no conclusions; there was only an exchange of ideas.

[Reporter] Will these talks continue tomorrow?

[Argana] I think these subjects will be discussed further tomorrow at the president's trip aboard the yacht. This was only a preliminary contact and a courtesy visit.

[Reporter] Thank you very much.

Peru

Vargas Llosa Asks Castro To Hold Free Elections

PY1203160990 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2316 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Lima, 9 Mar (EFE)—Mario Vargas Llosa, Peruvian writer and politician, today asked Cuban President Fidel Castro to hold free elections in Cuba because, "otherwise, history will condemn him forever."

Vargas Llosa said Cuba could be involved in a civil war or a power struggle if Castro continues as head of the government.

Vargas Llosa, presidential candidate for the Democratic Front (Fredemo, center right) in the 8 April elections, closed a three-day seminar, sponsored by Fredemo in a Lima suburb under the slogan "Revolution for Liberty," with a lecture on the world's current situation.

After expressing his satisfaction over Violeta Chamorro's victory in the presidential election held in Nicaragua on 25 February, Vargas Llosa emphasized the political changes in the Soviet Union and East European countries that are leaving aside the "tenets of Marxism-Leninism with all their myths."

Vargas Llosa harshly criticized communism, stating it subdued one-third of humanity and plunged it into "terror and disgrace."

Over the past few weeks "we have seen the collapse of so many petty tyrants and the fall of the Berlin Wall," pointed out the writer, who added that free societies know that "without economic liberty there is no political liberty or development."

Vargas Llosa indicated that Latin America is also experiencing an evolution similar to the one taking place in East Europe because dictatorships—which only continue to exist in Cuba and Haiti—are falling, making way for civilian and democratic governments.

Vargas Llosa advocated a humanity without wars and without an arms race. He added that Latin America must also stop buying arms because "despite the crisis affecting it, the region is heading toward modernism and pragmatism, with a few exceptions, such as today's Peru with its statist formulas."

Vargas Llosa added that, if he becomes president of Peru, he will modernize, moralize, and reduce the state to its true dimensions, "widely" opening the borders "to foreign investment, which is necessary for development."

The writer added that his goal is to transform Peru into a country "of our time, in peace and without violence, without political crimes."

Lastly, Vargas Llosa congratulated the participants of the seminar for the ideas they have contributed to the "culture of liberty, which now seems to be spreading worldwide."

Army Gives Four Dismissed Officers to Police

PY1203131390 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0427 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Lima, 11 Mar (EFE)—It was officially reported in Lima today that the Peruvian Army has sent four Army officers into retirement and has turned them over to the police for their alleged involvement in drug trafficking activities in a jungle area northeast of Lima.

The Peruvian Army also ordered the immediate relief of the commanders with administrative and operational duties in Ramal de Aspuzana, Leoncio Prado Province, Huanuco Department, northeast of the Peruvian capital. This action does not prevent additional investigations from being conducted.

A communique of the Peruvian Army Command, disseminated in Lima, states that, following an investigation that began on 8 March, Captains Jose Angel Burgos Haro and Cesar Rivera Pacheco and Lieutenants Nicolas Martinez Henriquez and Alfonso Ascacibar Noblecilla were retired "for disciplinary reasons."

The communique adds that the officers are subject to the regular courts and were placed at the disposal of the police.

The communique notes that additional investigations by the Army Inspector General's office were ordered "to check out the possibility that other personnel could be involved in the case."

The official communique stresses that the Peruvian Army "reiterates its resolute and firm decision to drastically sanction and make an example of those Army members who, ignoring the moral values and military virtues taught to them during their professional training, engage in acts that offend the institution's prestige and honorable tradition."

Venezuela

President Perez' State of Nation Address

PA1103194390 Caracas Venezolana de Television Canal 8 in Spanish 0000 GMT 8 Mar 90

[State of the nation address by President Carlos Andres Perez, at a joint session of the National Congress in Caracas on 7 March—recorded]

[Text] Venezuelans: I have come here to comply with my constitutional duty to appear before the congress to deliver a message on the occasion of my first year of government. I have also come here to report to the people, through their representatives, on the hard work being done, with unyielding faith, to serve Venezuela.

The great change imposed by the harsh national reality will depend on the strength of our will, which will not yield, the creative skills of the nation, and the unlimited possibilities that democracy offers to us. When I assumed office on 2 February 1989, I said: I am assuming Venezuela's presidency with modesty and without fear, convinced both of the great difficulties we will have to face and that the deadline for ending mistakes has passed. We must succeed, although our success and the decisions behind it will not be understood immediately. I will strive for dialogue, persuasion, the broadest agreement of interests, and the best public administration.

We have encountered many difficulties and had to face great challenges and responsibilities in this first year of government because our mistakes, omissions, and errors from the past, along with a serious international crisis and a sudden drop in the price of oil, dramatically destroyed the false sense of prosperity and economic soundness in the Venezuelan economy and bared the vulnerability of our growth and development process.

In February 1989, we found the nation with a $27-billion foreign debt the interest on which is more than half of our export revenue. The crisis, which began in previous years, led to an exchange rate regime that permitted, unchecked, imports and small- and large-scale corruption, all of which contributed toward draining our international reserves to limits incompatible with our needs. The financial policy lacked flexibility and was insufficient to meet the economic demands. Interest rates, low in relation to inflation, stimulated the flight of resources and the abuse of bank loans. The price regulation, tariff policies, and continual subsidies and exonerations had favored inflation and a fiscal deficit that reached 8

percent of the GNP. To this, had to be added the backwardness of the institutional structure, particularly in the public services area, and the increasing human resources reduction that the public sector had been experiencing. We then realized the inescapable need to recognize and face the reality of an inefficient, subsidized, and overprotected economy that lacked stimulus for competitiveness and export capacity, which was not concerned with quality or productivity and, what I think was more decisive, lacked an effective capacity to raise the population's standard of living which has continually and systematically deteriorated since the early 1980's.

To this situation, we had to add the regional deterioration, the weakening of the Judicial Branch, a growing bureaucracy, and greater public expenditures.

These circumstances would not allow us to continue along the path we had been following and, thus we stated the need for deep changes that would alter the trends we have noted and, once again, open the road to our sustained growth we were accustomed to. Also indispensable was a decision on a new development strategy, based on social efficiency, that would rescue the country from stagnation and return well-being to all Venezuelans. With deep anguish, but with firmness, we took the responsibility of proposing and implementing measures that would stop the country from entering a deadend street. To do so, we risked the consequences of leading Venezuela onto a new road. We were not only confident and sure of our strength and capacity, but we counted on the will of the entire nation; concertation is now a motto in our country's daily work. There has been no placid chorus of assent. Amid discussions and disputes, we have achieved the unity of resolve that will carry us forward. We have been realistic in our diagnoses, coherent in our statements, and sincere in our persistent search for understanding. I believe that our firm support for the program of activities that we proposed as well as our concerted effort—which we plan to continue—has been correct. This government has been neither elitist nor servile. If we want to be successful, we must go forward. There will be no going back and there will be no time for mistakes.

This government is responsible for the measures taken and accepts full responsibility for the results; although they will affect each of us. Without the nation's full acceptance, a full turnabout in our development strategy would not only be impossible, but also reckless. We must make a daily effort for dialogue and concertation that should be held without arrogance, but with flexibility. There will be no concessions to hesitancy or to contemporize with interests that do not reconcile with the nation's supreme interests. The country demands clear, responsible, coherent, honest, and sincere leadership in government.

The year 1989 was the year to make decisions that could not be further delayed. It was a year of difficult corrections and one in which we established the bases for the country's modernization. The measures were based on a deeply sincere realism. We were strenghtened by the conviction that, despite the high costs they implicated, the measures were entirely necessary. Likewise, we had confidence that positive results for all Venezuelans would be attained. We were stating that the country's modernization would promote a productive and competitive economy, an increasingly participative democracy, a strong, efficient and less interventionist state, a free society that uses all its strength and productive and creative capacity, a nation that can surmount problems, maintain and deepen its institutional continuity, and be increasingly equitable and more in solidarity.

The great turn around we have implemented—which has yielded positive, noticeable results—will benefit all forces and sectors of our society: government and opposition, workers and businessmen, political parties, and social organizations. In short, it will allow us to trust in ourselves. It is a route that does not exclude anyone, counts all of us, and is for everyone. The year was dominated by economic problems and social revolt; it could not have been different. The wrinkle disguised for so long could not be hidden any longer as all past artifices were left out on the open. The straps of our artificial economy broke. At the same time, all our problems exploded. From one day to another, we saw ourselves in another Venezuela. We woke up to a reality that was not satisfactory, I would dare call it dramatic, because it so completely contrasted with the one we had been artificially sharing. In my 16 February speech, only two weeks after taking power, we announced our economic and social measures amid the amazed benevolence of my fellow countrymen.

In the fiscal area, the measures that were adopted included unifying the exchange rate and floating the bolivar exchange rate against the U.S. dollar; the establishment of flexible interest rates to allow realistic, positive levels; the gradual elimination of ineffective indirect subsidies and the replacement of such subsidies with others directed toward the most vulnerable sectors; the realistic adjustment of prices and utility rates; partial deregulation of domestic prices; commercial reform combined with the elimination of discretional powers to grant import permits: the gradual, announced reduction of tariffs; the elimination of export permits; the extension of tax incentives on exports; and, finally, the establishment of a new strategy on external financing based on agreements with multilateral credit institutions concurrent with the refinancing of the foreign debt to find an ultimate solution to the debt problem in the context of an economy undergoing a balanced expansion.

What have the results been? We closed the year with a clear surplus of $792 million in the current account of the balance of payments, which contrasts with the deficit of $4.7 billion in 1988. Our international reserves increased. Our operational reserves reached $3 billion, and the trend firmed up during the first two months of this year. The deficit of the public sector dropped sharply. From eight-percent of the GNP in 1988, it

reached the level of a bare 1.7 percent, exceeding the government's goal of three to four percent.

Following unification in March 1989, the exchange rate has stabilized well below the level many had predicted. Following a sharp, inevitable climb, interest rates are beginning to drop and this tendency will expand to the degree that progress is made in normalizing our econmy. Confidence in our recovery is growing and our success in the fight against inflation is consolidating.

The problem of inflation, after the strong increase following implementation of adjustments in March and April 1989—which can be explained due to unsustainable restraint in prices—is absolutely under control. Although accumulated inflation reached 80 percent in 1989, average inflation during the second half of that year was only 25 percent, and accumulated inflation was lower for the same period in 1988. In addition, there are two other economic indicators that look very promising. One of them is stability in oil prices and the increase in OPEC production quotas. The second indicator is the growth in non-oil exports, which totalled 3.1 billion, a clear sign that the country began to move in the right direction.

The efforts and sacrifices we have been making are no longer so undesirable when we view them as the means to correct past efforts and mistakes. Those efforts and sacrifices ensure we will have a secure and trustworthy future. The social and political costs have been large. Accomplishments are not enough, but they provide a reason for confidence and to be optimistic. We were determined—although we were aware of the negative effects in the short run—to correct the imbalance between the price of goods and services in the public sector, the fares charged by state enterprises and institutions, and their actual production costs. This is necessary to modernize and have efficient public services. The consumers' discomfort and protests, especially because of deterioration in the services provided, is unavoidable. However, there is no other way to improve services but to update costs. There are no more resources to continue subsidizing them. However, following these adjustments, there will be no excuses to have goods and services that are not of high quality, variety, and reliability.

In the foreign sector we redefined the strategy of financing, placing more emphasis on relations with multilateral institutions. Exactly 26 days after I assumed power, I signed the first letter of intention with the IMF, which gave us access to the first phase of credit granted us by that institution. These resources enabled the country to start the currency exchange unification program with enough support. In May, we signed the second letter of intention that has given us access to almost $6 billion in four years. This amount is to be used to support the balance of payment and to refinance the foreign debt. In 1989, the Central Bank of Venezuela received $1,380 million from this source.

The two letters of intent contain the government's economic program expressed in firm commitments to carry out specific actions. It has been said that the IMF has imposed its conditions on us. We used our own economic program in negotiations to obtain this financial support in this first and very difficult year of government. The application of this program guarantees us and the IMF that we will soon return to viable economic conditions. Therefore, we will be able to properly guarantee the payment of these loans. We signed two programs with the World Bank last year. They were the structural adjustment program and the trade adjustment program for $755 million. Of these, we have already received $115 million in 1989. The rest will be disimbursed during the year. With these resources we are financing the employment plan and the industrial recovery program.

These loans are part of a far-reaching program of $4,300 million for the next seven years. With the Inter-American Development Bank, we adopted the plan of using already agreed upon credits that have not yet been disimbursed for more than 120 projects and the revision and incoporation of new projects for an over-all program covering four years and more than $2 billion.

The trade policy that we started in June 1989 will create the conditions for the new industrialization of Venezuela based on competitiveness and non-traditional exports. Besides, the application of this policy will stimulate local as well as foreign investment in the country by eliminating discrimination in granting import permits and ending import monopolies that favored privileged and non-competitive sectors.

We have suffered price increases. This is a natural consequence of unsound and inefficient subsidies and controls. However, one year after the inflationary period of February and March 1989, it is fair to say that we are winning the battle against inflation. This is one of the basic challenges for 1990. By improving our efficiency in the functioning of our economy, as a product of the new economic strategy and by maintaining the fiscal deficit under strict control, inflation will be increasingly lower. This process will lead us to inflationary levels below 10 percent in two years.

It would have been a true catastrophe not to adopt these measures because of fear or because of irresponsible political or electoral estimates. All we have to do is to look back on recent events to see the results of mistakes that some people still insist we should have made again in Venezuela.

These mistakes are: hyper-inflation, economic disarray, shortages, almost daily devaluation of our currency, massive unemployment, and the complete closing of foreign sources of financing.

The government has not let itself be trapped in the debate over economic theories or models. We are acting according to our real economy. We do not ignore the inflationary dangers, nor international commitments,

much less the woes suffered by the poor forsaken sectors. That is why simultaneously we adopt measures of social compensation. We combine adjustments with compensatory policies of social solidarity.

Of course we will not try to correct all discrepancies in the short term. We first protected people with mortagages by government decree, later made into a law by Congress. Agriculture has been the object of several measures designed to decrease the negative effects of adjustments. This year, and over the next few years, when we apply the available resources, the agricultural sector will have not only a policy of recovery, but essentially one to conduct the agricultural process toward its true stability and modernization, separating it from the paternalism and state controls that have made it the weakest and most vulnerable sector of the national economy.

Workers are worried about the devastating problem of unemployment, caused by the eight-percent economic decrease during 1989. In view of the unemployment caused by industrial conversion, we established unemployment insurance to help the worker for 13 weeks at 50-percent of his previous salary. He and his family are guaranteed medical services. Besides, we passed the law on Special Employment to create 150,000 jobs to improve and maintain public services in the country's poorer areas.

In 1989, the minimun salary was increased and two across-the-board salary raises were approved. We also created the food scholarship program, which had great national acceptance by the unemployed and poor sectors. The glass of milk for children, free uniforms and school supplies, subsidies for school bus fares, and insurance for high school students were also created. We also conducted programs for soup kitchens and bus and food coupons. The program for needy homes was expanded. It is now catering to more than 20,000 children. The price of staple foods and medicine was kept at a low level for the majority of our people. I have not wanted to abuse figures and statistics. They are contained in reports that will be distributed by government offices today. However, I have wanted to leave irrefutable evidence of our concern for producers, workers, the middle class, consumers, students, unemployed and forsaken people, and mothers and children, in this great effort to try to get the country to overcome this crisis.

The great challenge facing Venezuelans, all of Latin America and the Third World in general, is the foreign debt. We will not speak now of our responsibilities, nor of the artificial economy that led us to this crisis, and the dramatic corrections we are now imposing. The main objective now is to point out that all sacrifices, efforts, and corrections will lead us nowhere unless we rationally solve the problem of the debt that is directly linked to the unjust international economic system. Throughout this decade of the 1980's, which has been called the perverse decade, I have worked full-time against a system that I have labeled as economic totalitarianism. Today we still uphold the opinion we had yesterday. It does not contradict with our determination to negotiate and reach an understanding with the IMF to join the international financing system. We would have had absolutely no opportunity to obtain new resources for our depleted reserves, or to renegotiate the debt, if we had not first adopted that decision. The IMF is an inexorable reality. We have struggled and we will continue to struggle untiringly for a new international economic order. Meanwhile we are slowly but surely demolishing barriers of economic misunderstanding and absolutes. Thanks to this dogged struggle, Africa and Latin America can now say that, although the world economic system has not substantially changed its impositions, a more rational attitude enables our countries to act firmly and reach acceptable agreements within the present circumstances.

Over the next few days I will reveal to the country the results of our successful foreign debt renegotiation, the cornerstone of my government's foreign financing policy. I will delve into this at a future date.

We will significantly decrease our yearly service on the debt and prevent it from increasing as part of a policy in which debt reduction, its partial repurchase with large discounts, reduction of interest rates, and negotiation of more favorable time limits, will be the guidelines of our final efforts to sign an accord.

Perseverance and firmness, clear courses of action and specific goals have paved our way. I would not be so naively optimistic as to dare say that we have closed this chapter that is a part of the longer and more difficult process of establishing a new international economic order.

Our active foreign policy has given us the respectable presence that we need. We can say with satisfaction that our 32 years of democracy have been characterized by a correct and important Venezuelan foreign policy that is based on democratic solidarity, a struggle to ensure respect for liberty and human rights, and our decisive affiliation with the Third World struggle for international justice and Latin American integration.

We have paid attention to our neighbors. Our relations with Brazil, Colombia, Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, and all the Caribbean nations are moving along very auspicious paths with respect to specific bilateral matters and multilateral cooperation accords. We have visited Caribbean countries such as Trinidad and Tobago, and Suriname to pave the way for active cooperation with Caricom [Caribbean Common Market]; southern cone countries such as Peru, Bolivia, Argentina, and Uruguay; and Central American countries such as Costa Rica and Honduras. We have signed agreements and achieved signficant progress in our efforts to bring about Latin American, continental, and Caribbean consensus and integration.

The visits by Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, Guyanese President Desmond Hoyte, and the prime ministers of Trinidad and Tobago and St. Vincent were

important and yielded important results. The foreign ministers of Trinidad and Tobago and Venezuela, in a joint declaration, announced the completion of negotiations between the two countries to sign a delimination treaty of marine and submarine areas in April. This was the fulfillment of an announcement, to this effect, that I made to the Venezuelans upon my return from my official visit to Trinidad and Tobago.

Yesterday I was at Santa Marta's San Pedro Alejandrin Farm. The liberator made his last proclamation there. That farm witnessed his last statement. The purpose of my visit was to meet with President Barco to receive a final report drafted by the top commissioners of the presidents of Colombia and Venezuela containing the conclusions of their work.

We have identified 10 issues pending a resolution from our two countries: migrations, hydrographic basins, delimination of marine and submarine areas, international rivers, demarcation and consolidation of boundary stones, international transportation, use of border natural resources, drug trafficking, a control system to prevent the removal of transportation vehicles and procedures to recover them, and cooperation and mutual assistance in emergency cases and for the preservation of ecosystems.

We have also decided to establish a permanent high-level coordination and follow-up commission tasked with consulting, coordinating, verifying, and following up on treatment and the solution methodologies. In this way, we have completed a phase of a process that President Barco and I decided to implement in keeping with an agreement that we signed the day after my inauguration on 3 February 1989.

I cannot fail to mention the excellent patriotic work done by high commissioners Rafael Pizzani and Isidro Morales Paul for Venezuela, and Carlos Holguin Holguin and Pedro Gomez Barrero for Colombia. Colombians and Venezuelans thank them for the way in which they carried out their delicate responsibilities. We are now beginning the final task of implementing the methodology recommendations.

I hope that the atmosphere established between the two countries will facilitate our talks.

The greatest significance of this is that, for the first time, Colombia and Venezuela are undertaking, with preestablished methods, the overall solution of unsettled problems between them. The other appointed commission, presided over by Ramon J. Velazquez for Venezuela and Enrique Vargas for Colombia, which will be devoted to analyzing border problems, has also taken an inventory of these problems and suggested solutions that stress common interests.

In the Group of Eight and in the Subregional Andean Pact, we shared the best political, economic, national, and Latin American projects as steps toward achieving more satisfactory forms of integration. The Galapagos meeting constituted a fundamental step toward the Andean region's commitment to integration. At that meeting, the presidents of the Andean group clearly and decisively expressed their political interests and the unpostponable need to take firm steps toward integration, the fundamental element for strengthening the possibility of participating, with our own voices, in the new international dynamic.

By ourselves, we will continue to be inefficient, regardless of the individual efforts we may make to modernize our economy and build efficient and productive market economies. We closely followed and decisively supported the process of intense democratization in Latin America. Just as we were unequivocal in protesting the invasion of Panama, and in criticizing regional mechanisms for their failure to resolve situations such as developed in that brother nation, we, therefore, postulated the need to develop a modern concept of nonintervention which must be based on respect for a people's sovereignty and not on respect for the governments that usurp that sovereignty, something that forces us to form active alliances that lead to the return of democratic legality.

We have continuously cooperated with the Nicaraguan Sandinist government and opposition, in an effort that is clear and broad, so that today we can refer to it with profound satisfaction because of the results of that country's electoral process, which shook the democracies of the world, and Latin America in particular, for the exemplary behavior of the government and the opposition, something that constitutes a master lesson on democracy by the Nicaraguan people.

We increased solid relations and improved institutional relations with OPEC and its country members, by resolving the unpleasant controversy surrounding the condensates exported by our country. Once I was elected president, my visits to Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, the United Arab Emirates, and Algeria, and correspondence exchanged with those kings and heads of states and other OPEC dignitaries, have given my country a special status as collaborator in agreements and understandings that have contributed so much to OPEC's recovery and the reactivation of prices, as well as to preparations to hold a summit meeting among the kings and heads of state of the member countries.

At the United Nations we brought to the fore and defended the economic and political rights of our country, and the continent, in a world that should be more integrated and equitable. We exposed the unbearable treatment we have received in international economic relations, as we are subject to a host of protectionist modes, and, particularly, the treatment we have received in dealing with the foreign debt. We joined the Nonaligned Movement and began negotiations to join GATT. These two actions will contribute toward defending our best political and economic interests abroad. The dialogue we began and are maintaining with

U.S. President George Bush has been particularly important for our bilateral relations and serves to foster better understanding with Latin America.

I have devoted time to making direct personal contacts with heads of state and governments of many friendly countries, and I have traveled to different areas seeking international peace and consensus. That would seem alien to our purpose of a better Venezuela in economic and social terms. However, nothing is more removed from the truth. Without an international climate that understands Latin America's problems and our own circumstances, it would be very hard to achieve the goals we have undertaken. Venezuela is an open country in economic, political, and social terms. We cannot try to separate our destiny from that of our Latin American brothers.

The voice, peace, and prosperity of Latin America are essential requisites for Venezuela's well-being. For that reason, compatriots, we will continue to exert personal efforts to strengthen our country's foreign policy.

All last year, the national Armed Forces fulfilled, with admirable strictness and patriotic awareness, their mission to defend the sovereignty of our territory and to cooperate in all areas of development. On 27 February 1989, they had to face a difficult test. On that occasion, owing to the accumulation of years of tension and deterioration in the living standard of the low-income sectors of Caracas' population, these persons went out in an spontaneous outburst to stage violent protests, leaving a regrettable toll in the loss of human life and material property. The Armed Forces brought the situation under control during such difficult moments, adhering completely to democratic values.

We have been very respectful of the rules of the democratic system because of our convictions and objectives. Despite the existence of a very difficult social and economic situation, the country has not experienced restrictions on its freedom of expression, freedom of assembly, and right to demonstrate. We developed the media assistance plan, and thanks to that plan, we assured the media of a supply of basic services so that their independence was guaranteed.

Meanwhile, we struggled to stop government corruption. The first step we took was to eliminate the Recadi [Differential Exchange System]. We placed all the evidence and funds involved in the delivery of dollars, at special exchange rates, at the disposal of the various congressioanl committees and courts of justice. Whether or not the investigations concerning the Recadi case have led to any clarification of the matter cannot be blamed on negligence or concealment on the part of the government.

We have acted firmly to avoid government corruption and embezzelment. We have eliminated licenses, permits, exonerations, and unnecessary formalities. We will continue to eliminate anything that could lead to government corruption. We hope and wish that during the upcoming sessions, the Congress will approve the bidding law, which would become an invaluable tool for eliminating government corruption.

As we stated before, 1989 was a year of basic, difficult decisions. Venezuela's transformation has taken place at a time when the world is experiencing major changes and amazing transformations. We witnessed the downfall of Stalinist regimes, the promotion of open and increasingly united economies, and the strengthening of democracy around the world. If we want to be part of that changing world, we must promote bold innovations to develop a modern, competitive, and actively participative country. However, we have reached that wave of changes, which was unpostponable, without speaking clearly enough to the country about the nation's true situation and the demands of the new world.

Today, we have a new political situation in Venezuela. We have mayors and governors who belong to many different political parties and who have very clear government responsibilities. That is why the traditional sense of the dichotomy between government and opposition must cease to exist without anyone having to shelve their principles or plans. All of the country's forces must reach basic agreements to face the nation's problems and assign continuity to the solutions of those problems. The times when everybody waited for government action to decide which attitude to adopt or to find a way to protect themselves are over. Paternalism, obstructionism, and cronyism have been left behind. All of us who are in this room must continue to contribute to the definitive disappearance of those things from the Venezuelan administration.

For that reason, concerted efforts have become a special method. Such efforts are not a way to build majorities or force agreements. Those efforts are simply necessary in this more complex and open democracy in which all groups have responsibilities to the government.

This new democracy is the result of a great transformation that Venezuela has experienced and that was completed on 3 December. Any other assessment of the 3 December municipal elections is of secondary or temporary importance. We must point to the difficulties that we have faced to fully implement government decisions in a timely manner during this first year of government. A structure that has turned the public sector into a backward organization that lacks flexibility to implement changes, like those we have already implemented, explains the complexity of the situation we faced. This demands an immediate update of the entire state machinery.

However, we have already prepared the documents, which Congress will review and improve, to implement more urgent reforms in the public sector. I promised growth with social efficiency, and we are heading toward that goal. The private sector, which for a long time pointed out the need for a less interventionist state, with less government restrictions for open and competitive

economic activities, will each day have broader conditions for industrial and commercial initiatives aside from protectionism and burdensome and corruptive regulations and controls. This is the commercial reform we promised to have by March of this year, and it is already being implemented.

Two programs will determine the broad foreign participation in productive development. The plan for converting debt and investments, which we have been so successfull in implementing since last year, through a system of bids, has allowed authorization to convert the debt for $776 [corrects himself] $376 million in projects. Incidentally, the third auction is being held today. About 14 bids are being submitted for the 80 million [currency not specified] in [?debt] we are auctioning. The second incentive to attract foreign investments, after the rules of the game have been set, will come through fiscal measures. No foreign investor will be interested in investing in Venezuela, where investors have to pay taxes of about 50 percent and additional taxes on dividends. Setting a competitive fiscal rate is included in plans to modify the income tax laws, which Congress should begin to analyze during this session.

The government has an important responsibility to design an efficient system to provide support to exporters. Important elements to such an integral policy are already in effect or are being processed. There are fundamental elements that businessmen insistently demand—modernization of customs, elimination of corruption, and establishment of rules to protect businessmen from unfair competition. In sum, they demand the elimination of hidden costs in the productive process. We have progressed at a slow, but steady pace in this aspect. This year, all customs procedures will be computerized and the rules for conducting businesses will be established. Privatization already began in 1989. We have taken the first steps, and the first cases of privatization will be completed during 1990. Commercial banks and the Central Bank of Venezuela are ready for this. The attributions of the Venezuelan Investment Fund in matters that concern privatization, which we hope will be approved by Congress during the first months of the year, will provide privatization with the fundamental instrument to operate. Business and productive labor sectors are currently taking part in this process, to make this a clean process with greater democratization of capital.

We have significantly increased Foncrei [Industrial Credit Fund] resources to promote and finance industrial reconversion, and Corpoindustrias [Corporation for Development of Small and Medium Industries] resources to support small and medium-sized enterprises. In addition, we issued decree No. 255, which has helped a significant number of small businesses and the media to solve the problem of letters of credit. We also created a new mechanism of support for small businesses—Soganti [Security Society] which will support access by small industrialists to the financial market. Soganti will definitely open its doors in April this year. This is the first mechanism of financial support in which the state, industrialists, the banking sector, and labor associations are participating. I cannot overlook the great problem of letters of credit that affected productive and import companies in 1989. Its effect on obtaining financing in the financial system was a harsh blow to the immediate capacity of enterprises from which to recover. However, we had to adopt those measures to implement adjustments to benefit the neediest sectors of society. Had we not done that, we would have had to face a significant fiscal deficit and would not have had the resources to implement the policy of compensation that we implemented last year.

After 1989, and thanks to what we did and what happened to us, the public and private sectors, indeed the entire country is better prepared and ready to turn 1990 into a year of consolidation for our changes and adjustments. Let us start off 1990 as a year of expansion. It is not enough to produce more and better products if the benefits of our greatest efforts are not enjoyed by all Venezuelans. The Venezuela of the future must ensure that all its men and women have equal access to opportunities for personal and collective development. To achieve that objective, it is necessary to compensate workers' improved productivity through better wages and better job opportunities. It is also necessary for the state to focus its efforts on the well-being of the majority and to grant the private sector enough economic opportunities for its expansion. Briefly, social policies will not be the unexpected result of our economic development. They will be the result of a firm and deliberate plan.

We will strengthen our great transformation in 1990 through the strict continuity of all government efforts. This is a clear rule. We will continue our plan to transform and improve throughout our five years of government. That will be our direction and our route; we will not stray from it. We will listen to and consult with the people. We will correct our mistakes. However, the program and the objectives we have outlined will not be changed, because they are necessary and essential for Venezuela's future.

The second stage of the adjustment and modernization plan will be implemented in 1990. We intend to achieve the first important effects related to our economic expansion, discuss without delay reforms in the public sector, consolidate our social policy, and ensure steady, modern, democratic, productive, and competitive development. Our march forward will continue at a steadier pace from now on. It is not necessary for every new government to recreate the country and disregard previous efforts. We pick up the positive legacy and oriented it in the direction reflective of the new times. What served us before has already reached its end and exhausted its possibilities. This is neither unusual or traumatic. From time to time, societies must adjust their courses and outlooks. May I repeat, we all share this responsibility.

The nation's eighth plan, the general outline of which was presented to the Congress for discussion, represents the basic strategy for the change. It is the instrument with which we will organize the continuation and expansion of government policy to modernize and reorganize the country, release all of its force and creative potential, and prepare it so that it can enter the coming century ready for action with all its potential intact. To implement this plan, we already have an orderly economy oriented along a precise, well-defined course, with sound financing and sound economic groundwork laid in the first year of our term. We will have enough permanent international reserves to implement this plan without interruption or distortions. We hope the plan's goals will be shared by the entire country.

First, the plan calls for social commitment to reduce critical poverty, increase the number of jobs and the income of the Venezuelan people, and improve all basic public services. Second, we must achieve growth without inflation, without which social progress is impossible. Third, we must increase Venezuela's foreign competitiveness through our industrial and farming transformation, the development of tourism and the mining sector, the promotion of exports, and the efficient promotion of local and foreign investments. Based only on those goals, will we be able to create well-paid and stable jobs for all Venezuelans. Fourth, we must protect our natural resources. We must promote efficient use of those resources and we must promote regional economies. Fifth, we must introduce institutional changes which are not postponable to consolidate and decentralize a strong and efficient state able to fulfill its basic developmental responsibilities. We must promote a more participative democratic system, a more active and well-organized society, and judicial system reforms that guarantee personal and legal security.

We must capitalize on human resources, the core of the new strategy to educate highly qualified Venezuelan women and men able to guarantee greater Venezuelan competitiveness in the world. We must consolidate Venezuelans' access to the benefits offered by science, technology, sports, free information, and culture.

Those six integrated lines of the eighth plan are the bases for the expansion and consolidation phase of the great change in direction that the country began last year. It is a plan based on our realities that will explore all our possibilities. It is a plan for the Venezuela in the year 2000, to seek a more secure and harmonious future. It is plan the basic nucleus of which is our concern to improve the quality of life for each Venezuelan. It is also the result of our accumulated experience, good and bad, throughout our republican life, especially over the past 32 years.

Also, the eighth plan, the goals of which I officially announce to the entire nation, has two modalities that make it radically different from previous plans. One is the solidity of the financing strategy and the precise definition of its program costs. The other is that this plan has been implemented since 1989 with the executive branch's ineludible commitment to applying the great change of direction on the development strategy.

The 1990 programs contemplate continuity of the economic adjustment and structural change policies with a deepening of compensation and social solidarity policies. However, most importantly is that we are organizing a set of basic programs around them. The special investment program proposed for 1990 will be the first reactivation mechanism, totalling 127 billion bolivares for infrastructure work, social development, restructuring state businesses, and foreign debt reduction.

This plan responds to a need to incorporate public investment program works that do not have approved financing, but that have been very high priorities in the nation's eighth plan. This plan is under discussion in Congress and we are impatiently awaiting its approval.

It will create more than 2,000 new jobs, industrial and agricultural competitiveness will be increased, and the country will benefit from the establishment of a social and productive infrastructure that we need to start a process of stable growth. The public sector's investment in 1990 will surpass 250 billion bolivares, of which 100 billion will be used to consolidate the petroleum and petrochemical industries.

With this global investment plan and the maintenance of this new economic scheme, we plan to generate general expansion of the economy based on solid foundations without the imbalances that threatened us in 1989.

Restructuring state businesses is another main goal of our 1990 economic policy. Modernizing them and making them competitive and profitable are challenges that we will firmly tackle. We will establish agreements with each to ensure their own reconversion processes and to establish realistic and positive goals to reorganize them and increase their operational efficiency.

The service companies most closely involved with social needs, such as the INOS [National Institute of Sanitation Works], Cadafe [Electrical Administration and Development Corporation], Postel [Postal and Telegraphic Institute], and the Cantv [National Telephone Company of Venezuela], and the health services and organizations that make important contributions to the expansion of our export economy, such as the National Institute of Ports and the Venezuelan Navigation Company, Inc., will be restructured in-depth. All public services must immediately improve because the infrastructure of a competitive economy should not be hindered by bottlenecks.

We will also advance the state reform program. We will especially emphasize decentralization so that the process initiated on 3 December will continue with regard to the state hierarchy and with regard to the bases of our society. This reform will include the restructuring of public services as well that of ministries.

The Commission for State Reforms is in charge of achieving the national reform pact that was agreed upon by all of the social, political, and economic forces. Meanwhile, congress has received a proposal to reform the Development, Labor, Urban Development, and Family Ministries, not in name, but to reorient their functions.

The National Congress should turn the Development Ministry into a promoter of trade and industry. The Labor Ministry should also be in charge of social security policy. The Urban Development Ministry should activate housing programs. Certain changes should be made in the Family Ministry so that it becomes a leading force in social development.

The privatization program will be a crucial element in our economic policy. The privatization program raised some concern both about its goals, which cannot be to strengthen monopolies and oligopolies, and its coverage, which cannot include basic state enterprises. We will work for the best possible democratization of capital and property. We will not strengthen powerful groups. The privatization program's basic goal is to incorporate new groups of our society into our production machinery to free the state from its role as a multiple and not a selective businessman. In that way, the state will fulfill its true commitments with more firmness and efficiency.

Basic enterprises will be restructured whenever necessary to transfer activities which do not correspond to basic institutions, to the private sector or to mixed enterprises.

The process of industrial transformation is a high priority objective. We will not achieve the most important goals of trade reform without the modernization and expansion of our industrial sector. There will be enough financial sources for our industrial transformation based on the already established production apparatus. The goals of that transformation should be efficiency, competitiveness, productivity, increased job opportunities, better wages, and increased exports. We will go ahead with our existing schedule to eliminate, regulate, and reduce customs duties taking into account recommendations made by groups involved in this plan, but without giving in to short-term interests and without maintaining unproductive and excessively protected businesses.

We will revitalize our agricultural sector through consistent policies, the reorientation and strengthening of agrarian reform, adequate incentives, loans, reasonable interest rates, a new infrastructure, and improved research and technology. Because of its importance, this new agrarian policy was already announced during the special ceremony on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the implementation of the agrarian reform in Carabobo State rural areas.

Foreign investments, which have already been authorized by Decree No. 727, will be promoted through the elimination of obstacles, the increase of incentives and opportunities, and a significant decrease in regulations as stated in the decree. We will set clear and precise rules—like those designed for local investments—to regulate foreign investment in our country. The government will make special and sustained efforts so that 1990 becomes the year foreign capital, techonology, and new initiatives enter our country and boost our entire productive apparatus.

The nation's eighth plan also emphasizes the administration of justice and personal security, which are very serious and determining factors in the population's well-being. We have made little progress during those two areas. I am convinced that democracy is not fully valid if we lack legal security and prompt and reliable judicial procedures. As long as citizens feel that the law is fragile, they will not trust their system, arbitrariness will prevail, and manipulation and schemes will continue to exist. We urgently need clear and consistent rules. We need a competent and efficient judicial system. We need systems and resources for the prevention and repression of crime.

The responsibility of Congress and the government in these fields is unavoidable. Legal and personal security must be priority goals and we should aim for those goals this year. Nothing is more harmful for any process of reorganization and development than social disintegration and fear caused by crime. We will make firm and significant steps in the field of crime prevention and citizens' protection.

Our current expectations include the modernization of our education system and the promotion of scientific, technological, and cultural development. We will not improve and develop if we neglect those objectives that will guarantee our future. No one will do for us what we fail to do for ourselves. That is the essential cause of underdevelopment and dependency. When I say we, I mean Latin America. I mean unity. Last year, we made progress with regard to these educational goals.

The state's cultural actions have sought to promote an ambitious policy at national, regional, and Latin American levels. New doors have been opened to science and technology. The 1974 decree, concerning the obligation to use the universities and higher education centers for research and study projects, has been signed and ratified. We have established satisfactory wage and budget conditions for the university sector. Substantial wage increases have been granted to professors and teachers. However, there is a clamor for education reform to update the systems of study to keep in touch with modern requirements, such as computer technology, mathematics, languages, and a sense for work and responsibility. This cannot be decreed. It must be achieved through a concerted effort, so that the education community will take into its own hands that unpostponable demand of the country. Our challenge is to produce, organize, and promote talent. Education is decisive. My governmnent will make a concerted effort to promote it in this definitive sense. Our science and

technology are at a great disadvantage in the contemporary world. We must reduce the gap. In 1990 we will promote the plan to promote research. We will support regional foundations of science and technology. I hope that holding the second national congress of science and technology will strengthen these goals and that we will pursue them. The first was held during my first administration. Then followed this lengthy lapse.

As I announced in my year-end speech, we will give a big impetus to the health care infrastructure. We must end the chronic hospital crisis, definitively develop primary health education, and make basic medicine accessible to everyone. Part of this effort consists of ensuring potable water service for the entire country. We will endeavor to do so.

Lastly, we must face the crisis of a sector in which subsidies and poor service have dramatically hidden, for a long time, its artificiality and chaotic deficiency. I refer to transportation. It is an absolute lie that the cost of fuel, the price of diesel, gasoline, and motor oil are responsible for the increase in the transportation tariff. Their cost has always been within limits. No investor invests in the sector, lest it be an irresponsible and spendthrift government, or the private and humble owners of buses, who are only servants of the automobile distributors. These owners see the end of the useful life of their vehicles, not the end of their letter payments or the amortization of their cost. Today the transportation situation in Venezuela has fallen to alarming levels. Either the transportation tariffs are increased to rational levels, to attract investors, stimulate good service, and improve the conduct of users who have to pay them and the price of fuel which everywhere contributes to the maintenance of highways and roads, or the transportation crisis will wind up in even more chaoic. Now, with the high prices of vehicles, the workers of the countryside, the city, and the middle income sectors will not be able to have their own vehicles. Only with these criteria can we resolve one of the problems that, not just because it has been hidden for so long, will cause less public commotion and serious upsets to the whole productive process. Only by correcting these errors and omissions can we build new freeways. For this, it is indispensable to increase toll rates and thus be able to use the law of concession, as well as grant possibilities to the overall highway, railroad, aquatic, and air transportation plan we are initiating.

The public investment plan contemplated in the eighth plan of the nation, demands quantitative resources, which must be mobilized through efficient financing mechanisms. There is some concern with regard to the foreign credit requirements that the government will have to finance an important part of the cost of the programs and projects contemplated in the plan. Some persons view with concern, and surely in the best faith, that the country is using its foreign debt at a time when we are suffering the consequences of its misuse in the recent past.

The first thing we have to say is that the present government's foreign financing policy responds to criteria and circumstances that are completely different from those that prevailed in previous years. As is well known, Venezuela made massive use of foreign credits, mostly using the services offered by the international private banking sector. Today, the situation is entirely different. Our economic policy implementation ensures that Venezuela will have access to international credit under conditions that differ from those we had in the past.

We have carried out, without problems, the agreements signed with the IMF and the World Bank. This clearly shows that our economic policy is being backed by the international financial community. The new foreign financing policy is based on two basic programs—obtaining financing through multilateral credit organizations and restructuring and reducing our public debt with the banking sector. The program's goals are to improve the structure of our foreign debt, taking into account our economy's capacity to generate foreign exchange and maintain an adequate level of international reserves. Furthermore, it will improve our overall debt situation in relation to our economy and favor solutions to our basic indicators problem.

Loans from multinational credit organizations offer enormous advantages over those offered by international banks, as they provide the best financial conditions in the market. The World Bank and the IDB [International Development Bank], which have similar financing conditions, for example, offer 15 to 20 years to pay debt, five years or more as a grace period, the lowest interst rates on the market, and more flexible credit stipulations that can be better adapted to a country's needs. Multilateral institutions give quick loans that can be combined to finance the structural economic program's related costs, such as industrial reconversion, balance of payment support, and direct investment project development, and part of the resources can be assigned to debt reduction programs.

Another, no less important advantage of foreign multilateral credit is that the projects and programs for which credit is being requested are given serious, in-depth technical and economic study by credit institutions and the country's implementing institutions. Multilateral credit promotes a country's institutional framework and preparation of sectorial policies that will make a project economically and financially feasible. All these actions bring about greater efficiency for public organizations that receive the credit.

As a last point, multilateral financing has become an important bridge to obtaining foreign financing as the private international banking sector has completely stopped providing loans to developing countries.

The second aspect of our financing strategy—which I will announce to the country soon—consists of restructuring and reducing debts contracted with international

banks. With this action, we will manage to cut a large part of the cost and service of public debt. As has been explained at different times, this reduction will have to start by using different ways to repurchase debt, exchanging debt for guaranteed bonds, and converting debt into capital.

Coordination with new multilateral financing organizations and reduction in our commericial bank debt will generate absolute and relative reduction of the country's debts and will serve as the basis for our solid financial strategy that will allow us to reach our development goals. The design of eigth national plan is geared toward recuperation of our economy, improvement of our services, and liberation of the best forces in our social initiative. In other words, it will increase our democracy and this cannot be the task and work of one man or government; it requires all Venezuelans. The country is represented in Congress and it is not only the representational political forces in it. I await all the observations this body wants to present to the government with humilty and acceptance. All the observations will have our respect as we believe that all of them will conscientiously act to favor Venezuela.

At the risk of initial uncertainty, misunderstanding, and transitory hardships, this government initiated the change of course that is being implemented. We are sure that, inevitably, time and results will show all that the reasons for our commitment proved to be correct.

We firmly refuse to follow the easy, and now impossible, path of governing to please ephemeral popular demands, of exercising cowardice and hesitation in the face of fundamental decisions, which much sooner than later would have led the country to a historic catastrophe. I am convinced that the patriots and foreigners who live among us amid the difficulties and sacrifices that we must endure, know that there was no other path. They know that we have not acted whimsically. They know that we are all paying the price of past illusions and squandering, which to a certain extent implicates us all—politicians, businessmen, and workers—despite the fact that the responsibility is not the same in all cases.

Today we envision the future. It will depend on all of us to become a reality, so that the decade of the nineties will conclude with a victory, the definite launching of development and welfare. We must all contribute our best efforts and hope to achieving a productive, healthy economy, nationally and internationally competitive, upheld on its own bases, without protective crutches of a paternalistic state. My government has but fulfilled what it promised to the country.

With a team of honest, competent collaborators, dedicated to their work and faithful to their planned objective of changing Venezuela to direct it toward better times, the program of our government of consistent actions was not designed for five years. The objectives and content of the eighth plan of the nation, the master key to rebuilding the country, projects the goals we will achieve as powerful bases for the actions of governments that will succeed us.

We have governed to preserve the present and safeguard the future. Our concept of concertation has not been to distribute complacency and resignation in the face of vested interests, but a process of concertation, based on confidence rather than mistrust between political parties and labor organizations. It is a process of concertation based on the strategic objectives required by Venezuela at this time, which are those of a more participative, competitive, and export minded democracy—a Venezuela with an enterprise sector liberated to its own productive capacity, a Venezuela with an educational, scientific, technological, cultural sytem that will strive for excellence, a Venezuela with an efficient public sector, a Venezuela in which the existence of a de jure state will be total, with prevailing legal and personal security.

To change courses, albeit difficult, is not impossible. The big nations have done so. Venezuela did so to become a republic. It did so again 32 years ago and the path has not been easy. Just as we endeavored to achieve and consolidate a regime of democratic liberty, to eradicate violence, and to establish a society where civilized coexistence and tolerance exist as a way of life, so can we now strive to achieve the objectives demanded of us now, to preserve what we have already obtained and to excel as a nation.

We cannot conclude without making an appeal to each of you, to the people of AD [Democratic Acition], COPEI [Christian Social Party], the MAS [Movement to Socialism], Cause R, the New Generation Movement, the Hour, Formula 1, the MEP [People's Electoral Movement], the Communist Party of Venezuela, the independent parties, in the great challenge of making a concerted effort to create the Venezuela of the 21st century. This future is being built from the present, because it is not what to expect [porvenir], but what to do [por hacer]. Let us not waste the opportunity to engage in a joint, concerted action to make optimism a vital strength so that Venezuela will rise above itself. Let us now recall Simon Bolivar's words to General Urdaneta in 1827, quote, we must work much to regenerate the country and give it consistency. Therefore, we must have patience and more patience, consistency and more consistency, work and more work, to have peace.

Congressmen, Venezuelan men and women, that is still the slogan of the Venezuela of today. Let us get to work.